A STUDY IN THE VOCABULARY
OF
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

By

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I

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
Apte, V.S.	Apte, V.S., Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Poona, 1967
A.S.R.	Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India
B.S.O.A.S.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
C.I.I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica
I.A.	Indian Antiquary, Bombay
I.C.	Indian Culture, Calcutta
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta
J.A.S.B.	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay
J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum
J.N.S.I.	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi
J.U.P.H.S.	Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow
M.A.S.I.	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
M.W.	Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Varanasi, 1963

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Scheme of transliteration

VOWELS :-	अ	a	आ	a	इ	i	ई	i
	उ	u	ऊ	u	ऋ	r	ऌ	li
	ए	e	ऐ	ai	ओ	o	औ	au
	अं	am	अः	ah				

CONSONANTS :-	क	k	ख	kh	ग	g	घ	gh
	ङ	n	च	c	छ	ch	ज	j
	झ	jh		n	ट	t	ठ	th
	ड	d	ढ	dh	ण	n	त	t
	थ	th	द	d	ध	dh	न	n
	प	p	फ	ph	ब	b	भ	bh
	म	m	य	y	र	r	ल	l
	व	v	श	s	ष	s	स	s
	ह	h	व	ks	त्र	tra	ज्ञ	jn
	ड	r	ढ	rh				
	ळ्ह	nh						

IX.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

S.No.	Name of the Inscription	Reference
1	Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta	C.I.I., III, p. 1
2	Eran Inscription of Samudragupta	" p. 18
3	Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II, The year 82	" p. 21
4	Mathura Inscription of Candragupta II	" p. 25
5	Sanci Inscription of Candragupta II, The year 93	" p. 29
6	Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II	" p. 24
7	Gadhwa Inscription of Candragupta II, The year 88	" p. 36
8	Gadhwa Inscription of Kumaragupta	" p. 39
9	Gadhwa Inscription of Kumaragupta, The year 98	" p. 40
10	Bilsad Pillar Inscription of Kumaragupta, The year 96	" p. 42
11	Mankuwar Image Inscription of Kumaragupta, The year 129	" p. 45
12	Bihar Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta	" p. 47
13	Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta	" p. 52
14	Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, The years 136, 137 and 138	" p. 56
15	Kahaum Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, The year 141	" p. 65
16	Indor Plate of Skandagupta, The year 146	" p. 68
17	Mandasor Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman, The Malava years 493 and 529	" p. 79

18	Eran Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta, The Year 165	"	p. 88
19	Eran Pillar Inscription of Goparaja, The year 191	"	p. 91
20	Meharauli Pillar Inscription of Candra	"	p. 139
21	Spurious Gaya Plate of Samudragupta, The year 9	"	p. 254
22	Udayagiri Cave Inscription, The year 106	"	p. 258
23	Sanci Inscription, The year 131	"	p. 260
24	Mathura Image Inscription, The year 135	"	p. 262
25	Gadhwa Inscription	"	p. 264
26	Kosam Stone Image Inscription of the Maharaja Bhimavarman, The year 139	"	p. 266
27	Gadhwa Stone Inscription, The year 148	"	p. 267
28	Paharpur Copper-plate Inscription of Budhagupta, The year 159	E.I., XX,	p. 62
29	Dhanaidaha Copper-plate Inscription of Kumaragupta I, The year 113	E.I., XVII,	p. 347
30	Tumain Inscription of Kumaragupta I and Ghatotkacagupta, The year 116	E.I., XXVI,	p. 117
31	Mathura Jain Inscription of Kumaragupta I, The year 113	E.I., II,	p. 210
32	Mandasor Inscription of Malava year 524	E.I., XXVII,	p. 15
33	Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription No.1 of Budhagupta, The year 163	E.I., XV,	p. 135

34	Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription No.2 of Kumaragupta I, The year 124	E.I., XV,	p. 130
35	Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription No.3 of Kumaragupta I, The year 129	E.I., XV,	p. 133
36	Nalanda Seal of Visnugupta	E.I., XXVI, I.H.Q., XIX,	p. 235 p. 119
37	Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription No.4 of Budhagupta	E.I., XV,	p. 138
38	Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription No.5 of Bhanugupta	E.I., XV,	p. 142
39	Nalanda Terracotta Seal of Visnugupta	E.I., XXVI,	p. 239
40	Karamdanda Stone Linga Inscription of Kumaragupta I, The year 117	E.I., X,	p. 71
41	Nalanda Copper-plate Inscription of Samudragupta, The year 5	E.I., XXV,	p. 50
42	Mathura Pillar Inscription, The year 61	E.I., XXI,	p. 8
43	Basarh Clay Seals of Govindagupta	A.S.R.,1903-4,	p. 107
44	Kalaikuri-Sultanpur Copper-plate Inscription of Kumaragupta I, The year 120	I.H.Q., XIX, March 1943,	p. 21
45	Baigram Copper-plate Inscription of Kumaragupta I, The year 128	E.I., XXI,	p. 81
46	Basarh Clay Seals of Ghatotkacagupta	A.S.R.,1903-4,	p. 107
47	Supia Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta	E.I., XXXIII, Part 8,	p. 308
48	Nalanda Clay Seal of Narasimha-gupta	I.H.Q., XIX, M.A.S.I. No.66,	p. 273 p. 65
49	Sarnath Buddhist Stone Inscription of Kumaragupta II	A.S.R.,1914-15,	p. 124

50	Bhitari Inscribed Copper-silver Seal of Kumaragupta III	J.A.S.B., LVIII, p. 89
51	Nalanda baked Clay Seal of Kumaragupta III	M.A.S.I. No. 66, p. 66
52	Nalanda Seal of Vainyagupta	M.A.S.I. No. 66, p. 67
53	Gunaighar Copper-plate Inscription of Vainyagupta, The year 188	I.H.Q., 6, p. 63
54	Nalanda Seal of Budhagupta	I.H.Q., XIX, p. 119
55	Sarnath Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Budhagupta, The year 157	A.S.R., 1914-15, pp.124-25
56	Varanasi Pillar Inscription of the time of Budhagupta, The year 159	Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions, ed. 1965, p.332 (33A); J.R.A.S.B., XV., 1949, p.95ff.

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PREFACE

The Gupta period occupies a unique place in the history of India of which the reign of the Imperial Guptas is most important. Several studies have been attempted on this period by many illustrious scholars, who have brought into relief the historical and chronological factors. But a gap remained which has not been filled so far. The details about the cultural factors were not only duly emphasised by the earlier scholars. The clarification of disputed passages and a systematic analysis of the scattered material contributed by various scholars by reconstructing a coherent picture was a desideratum.

In the following pages an attempt has been made in this direction. In a systematic and scientific study, it will be difficult to discuss elaborately all the problems of vocabulary in one volume. Hence in this first study, the Personal-Names and Place-Names alone have been taken up. We have tried to determine the correct reading in the case of disputed passages and expressions. It is only after this that one can study the words having a bearing on historical, cultural and linguistic problems.

In listing the inscriptions of our study we have not not followed the chronological sequence. This has been due to the fact that first for the convenience of readers the

inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas incorporated by Fleet in his Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Volume III have been taken up and then their other inscriptions published in various Indological Journals have been collected. We have confined our study to those inscription and seals which are directly connected with some member of the Imperial Gupta family.

The thesis is divided into two parts: Part I consists of 3 sections. Section I is devoted to the Introduction of the Proper-Names. For the first time it discusses the rules regarding to the naming of persons prescribed by the Dharma-sutras, the Smrtis, the Grammarians, the Etymologists and the Prakrit texts. Section II consists of 7 Chapters. In Chapter I a fresh approach on the caste of the Guptas has been attempted and then the names of the kings and queens of the Imperial Gupta family have been discussed. Chapter II deals with the names of feudatory kings and high officers. Chapter III deals with the name of local officers such as Sresthins, Kulikas, and Kayasthas. Chapter IV incorporates the discussion on the names of householders and traders. Chapter V describes the names of Brahmanas: Jainas and Buddhas: and the Epic and Puranic names. Chapter VI is devoted to the names of women occurring in our epigraphical records. In Chapter VII a detailed discussion of the names of the Tribes, mentioned in our inscriptions, has been made. In Section III the important conclusions drawn from this

study are summed up.

Part II includes three Sections: In Section I a general introduction to the place names has been made. Section II consists of two chapters. In Chapter I the place names with their relative suffixes, have been elaborately discussed. In Chapter II geographical names such as those of rivers and mountains has been discussed. Section III incorporates the concluding remarks with reference to the place-names which have occurred in our inscriptions.

Discussions on some important i points connected with the main problems were not possible in the body of our thesis: this would have disturbed the link. But they were of vital significance, Some wrong views were obscuring their real meaning. Hence we have discussed them separately as appendices.

In Appendix I King Candra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription is generally identified with Candragupta II. Goyal's theory about its identification with Samudragupta has been refuted. In Appendix II we discuss the name of the mother of Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta. In Appendix III the significance of the suffix 'ka' has been dealt with. It has been pointed out that Mahendragiri was the king of Pistapura and Svamidatta that of Kottura. The doubts of Fleet with regard to the name of king Mahendragiri and Kottura as Giri-Kottura have been clarified.

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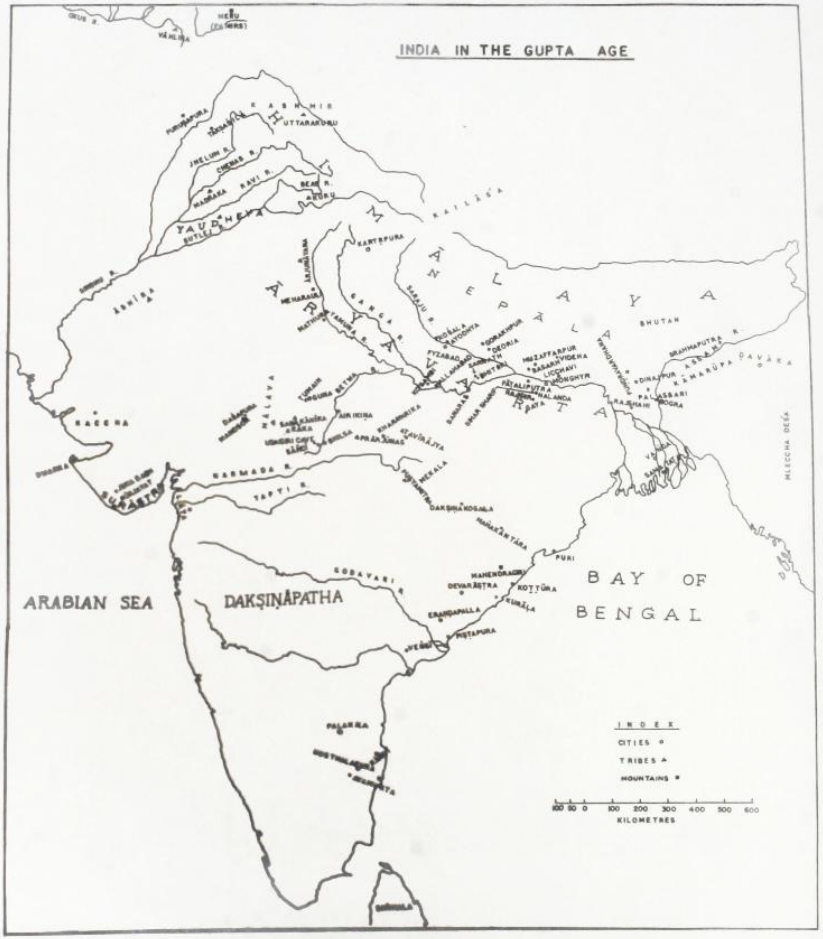
In Appendix IV we have pointed out that the Daiva-putras, Sahis and Sahanusahis were three separate tribes and not one or two tribes as held by earlier scholars. In Appendix V the discussion is based on the grammatical and literary considerations which suggest the existence of three rivers and not one or two as pointed out by earlier scholars. We take the help of two allied maps of Junagadh to substantiate our view.

इदं कविभ्यः पूर्वेभ्यो नमोवाकं प्रशास्महे ।
विन्देम देवतां वाचममृतामात्मनः कलाम् ॥

PART - I

Personal Names


INDIA IN THE GUPTA AGE
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
DAKṢIṆĀPATHA
INDEX
CITIES
TRIBES
MOUNTAINS
KILOMETRES

Nominal languages, such as the Greenlandish and the Nauhatt, represent the earliest stage in the development of linguistic structures. They consisted mostly of the object-words, which denoted the objects and also action and quality. In the nominal languages, object-words (names) emerged out of proper names. In the early stages of a language, the first words are names, and all names are primarily proper names. Generic names, like man, animal and tree, evolve later, and abstractions, like courage, ferocity, and greenness, later still.[1] A proper name is a symbol pointing to one and only one person, or place. Primitive man felt that the relationship between name and thing was close and intimate. This faction formed the basis for rituals pertaining to propitiation and incantation. The mishandling of a in speech might imply insult or may result in injury to the bearer of the name.[2]

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1. Simeon Potter, Our Language, p.142.

2. Cf. पाणिनीय शिक्षा, श्लोक 52.

मन्त्रोहीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

Vrtra himself was killed while trying to kill Indra with

Even in regard to generic names we have to keep certain limitations in view. Yaska states that we find convenience in restricting the use of words otherwise they may bring about confusion.[1]

A personal name consists of a surname and that part of name which is variously called as the first name or the Christian name. Surname consists of the Caste-suffix or Gotra, Pravara and Sakha. Sometimes it may consist of Gotra or family appellation alone. Many surnames are derived from the principal professions the people followed or the crafts they practised, and in the majority of cases, are still engaged in. Some surnames give clue to the original habitat of a people,

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contd.

the help of a mantra. This all happened due to the mistake of the chanter of the hymn in accent.

In "यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात्" the word "इन्द्रशत्रुः", if the accent is on the first word become बहुव्रीहिसमास and it is तत्पुरुषसमास when the accent is on the second word. In the hymn इन्द्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्व i.e. the slayer (satru) of Indra should get victory, by mistake the brahmanas chanted it with the accent on the first word which entirely change its meaning as 'He should be victorious, Indra is whose slayer (satru).

1. Yaska's Nirukta (ed.Rajavade,V.K.), pp.263-64 :
all sorts of people are found planing wood occasionally; but the name 'takshan' (from taksh = to plane wood) is applied to those only who make a profession of planing wood or carpentering. Beggars wander about and yet they are not called parivrajaka (one who moves here and there) which term is used only for those who embrace the fourth religious order. Jivanas literally means one that lives; so any thing that lives may be called Jivana; but water of sugarcane or a kind of vegetable only is called Jivana. The word bhumija means the planet Mars though multitudes of things are born of the earth.

even though they have migrated elsewhere. Others point to the ethnic groups a people belonged. Thus surnames are important from Historical, Cultural and Ethnological point of view.

First names are primarily devised to denote[1] and not to connote, though at times fortuitously denotation may be identical with connotation. Nevertheless, they reflect beliefs, aspirations, cultural atmosphere and level of education of family, head of the family or society. It is not necessary that the names befit a thing or person as soon as it is born. Some names are given to them after noticing their actions. Bilvada and Lambacudaka were the names of certain birds current in Yaska's time; Amara does not mention them. The bird Bilvada is so called on account of its habit of eating a certain fruit some time after its birth. In the case of Lambacudaka its long crest comes into existence long after its birth and yet it is called Lambacudaka.[2] The first part of the names of persons generally consists of certain deities, constellations, abstract things or other objects of nature. They are with or without a name-ending suffix.

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1. Cf. विश्वनाथपाण्डेय, अभिधान-अनुशीलन, p.14.

We find in the Nama-siddhi-jataka-gatha (No.67) that a person named Papaka who was in search of good name came back to his house disappointed seeing jivaka as dead, finding Dhanapala in poor condition and noticing Panthaka roaming about in woods.

"जीवक च मृतं दिस्वा, धनपालि च दुग्गतम्।
पन्थक च वने मूढं पापको पुनरागतो॥"

2. Yaska's Nirukta (ed. Rajavade, V.K.), p.266.

We can study personal names with respect to time, place and society. A certain society will not change its naming-pattern even after the change of place. From the frequency of a particular name in a particular region we know of the religion, culture and the philosophy of life of the people of a certain region. Sometimes lengthy names[1] giving full particulars of the persons are also noticed, for example

(i) The full name of Dalai Lama;[2]

(ii) The original Arabic name of Hakim Abisena;[3]

(iii) The name of a British Puritan girl : Through - Much - Tribulation We Entered The kingdom of Heaven ;

(iv) Another girl's name in which we find all letter from A to Z : Ann - Bertha - Cecila - Diana - Emily - Fanny - Gurtrude - Hypatia - Inez - Jane - Kate - Louisa - Maud - Nora - Ophelia - Priscilla - Quince - Rebecca - Starkey - Teresa - Ulisses - Venuo - Winifred - Xenopon - Yelta - Zemus.

Now we shall briefly review the principles of naming a person as prescribed by the Dharmasastras and grammarians.

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1. विद्याभूषण मिश्र, अभिधान अनुशीलन, p.16.

2. जैसम अम्बील मगा थांग पीशे तैना चिंग ग्यात्सो ।

3. अबू - अली - हुसैन - इब्न-अब्द-अल्लाह-इब्न-सीना ।

We may classify the literary data about naming into four distinct periods[1] :

(1). Vedic period

(2). Sutra period

(3). Smrti period

(4). Nibandha period

1. Vedic period :

In the Vedic period usually two names were given to a person, one of which was a secret name, known to the parents only. Instances of persons having three or four names are also found. Throughout the Vedic literature the names given to a person were his own secular name and one or more other names derived either from his father's or grandfather's name, or from his gotra or from a locality or from the name of his mother. It is not quite clear from the Vedic literature how the secret name known only to the parents was given. Hardly any secret name except that of Indra as Arjuna is known from the Vedic literature.[2] It is obvious that the names being secret do not appear in the texts.

2. Sutra period :

The Grhyasutras prescribe rules about the formation of names. Most of the Sutras recommend that the father should

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1. Sankalia,H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, pp.100-104 ; I.H.Q. Vol.XIV, Kane,P.V., Naming a child or a person, pp.224-44.

2. Satapatha, II.1.2.11.

bestow on the son on a day after the 10th from the birth, a name having a sonant[1] at the beginning and containing a semi-vowel in the middle.[2] Some sutras[3] prescribe that the name should end in a visarga or a long vowel. Some grhyasutras like Apastamba[4] say that the name should have two parts, the first being a noun and the second being a derivative from a verb (generally a past passive participle ending in 'ta').

According to the Asvalayana[5] and the Gobhiliya[6] Grhya-sutras a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents. The Sankhayana[7] and the Khadira[8] Grhyasutras prescribe that the secret name should be given at birth, while according to the Hiranyakesi[9] Grhyasutra it should be given at the time of the Namakarana on the 10th or 12th day after birth. The Hiranyakesigrhyasutra,[10] the Baudhayanagrhyasesasutra[11] and

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1. Sonants (ghosa) are the 3rd, 4th, 5th letters of the five classes from to and .
2. Kane,P.V., I.H.Q., XIV, p.242.
3. Gobhiliya, II.8.8 and 14-16; Paraskaragrhya. I.17.
4. VI.15.1-3.
5. I.13.1.
6. II.7.15-16.
7. I.24.
8. II.2.31-32.
9. II.4.10-15.
10. Ibid.
11. I.11.9-18.

the Vaikhanasasmartasutra,[1] lay down that the nakstra name is to be the secret one; while other Grhyasutras like Khadira[2] speak of a secret name but do not connect it with the naksatras.

Many Grhyasutras like Gobhila[3] and Khadira[4] require that there should be an abhivadaniya name, but these say that the abhivadaniya is to be derived from a naksatra or deity. Gobhila adds that according to some the abhivadaniya name should be derived from the gotra.[5]

The name derived from a deity was originally derived from the deity presiding over the naksatra of the child's birth. Later on, the names of gods were directly used as the names of individuals, though this appears to have been originally forbidden.[6]

The practice of adding upapadas sarman, varman, gupta and dasa appears at a date later than most of the Grhyasutras, usually in the Smrti period.[7] Only the Parasara and the

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1. III.19.

2. II.2.31-32

3. II.10.21-25

4. II.4.12

5. Kane, P.V., I.H.Q., XIV, p.244 : 'This latter is supported by the usage of the Upanisadas. When the abhivadaniya was a gotra name, there could have been no secrecy about it.

6. Manava Grhyasutra, I.18.1-2 : गुह्यं नामधेयं देवतानामधेयं नक्षत्रनामधेयं देवतानामधेयञ्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम्।

7. I.17.

Baudhayana Grhyasutras[1] lay down rules for these upapadas.

The names of the girls were required to contain an odd number of syllables, generally three; and were to end in a long letter either 'a'[2], 'i'[3], or 'da'[4].

The Varahagrhyasutra[5] forbids the bestowing of the father's name on the son and lays down that a girl's name should not be after a river, naksatra, the moon, the sun, or Pusan and should not be a name ending in raksita or datta preceded by the name of a deity. This latter rule is also found in Manu who even forbidds a brahmana marrying a maiden possessing her name based on a river or naksatra.[6]

3. Smrti period :

Manu simplifies the system and lays down the following four simple rules :

(i). A name should be given to a child on the 10th or 12th day on a pious date, Muhurta or naksatra.[7]

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1. I.11.4-18.
2. Gobhilagrhya, II.8.14.
3. Varahagrhya 2.
4. Manavagrhyasutra, I.18.1-2.
5. III.1-3.
6. III.9. नोद्वहेत्कपिलां कन्यां नाधिकाङ्गीं न रोगिणीम् ।
.....॥ नर्क्षवृक्षनदीनाम्नीं नान्त्यपर्वतनामिकाम् ।
न पक्ष्यहिप्रेष्यनाम्नीं न च भीषणनामिकाम् ॥
7. मनुस्मृति, 2/30
नामधेयं दशम्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत् ।
पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्विते ॥

(ii). The name of a brahmana should be indicative of mangala; of a ksatriya strength, of a vaisya wealth and of sudra lowness.[1]

(iii). To the name of a brahmana an upapada (suffix) should be joined indicating sarman (happiness or blessing); of a king an upapada connected with protection; of a vaisya indicating prosperity and of a sudra indicating dependence or service.[2]

(iv). The name of women should be easily pronounced, clear, charming, auspicious, ending in long vowel and should be full of blessings.[3]

Manu omits the elaborate rules about giving a name in the case of males, and does not make any reference to the naksatra name or abhivadaniya name given to a boy.

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1. Manu Smrti, 2.31.

मंगल्यं ब्राह्मणस्य स्यात्क्षत्रियस्य बलान्वितम्।
वैश्यस्य धनसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य तु जुगुप्सितम् ॥ ३१ ॥

2. Ibid, 2.32.

शर्मवद्ब्राह्मणस्य स्याद्राज्ञो रक्षासमन्वितम्।
वैश्यस्य पुष्टिसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य प्रेष्यसंयुतम् ॥ ३२ ॥

3. Ibid, 2.33.

स्त्रीणां सुखोद्यमक्रूरं विस्पष्टार्थं मनोहरम्।
मङ्गल्यं दीर्घवर्णान्तमाशीर्वादाभिधानवत् ॥ ३३ ॥

4. Nibandha period :

The Mitaksara, a commentary on the Yajnavalkya Smrti, quotes Sankha, who says that a father should give to his son a name connected with a family deity.[1]

There is another way of deriving names from naksatras. In some of the medieval Jyotisa works, each of the 27 naksatras is divided into four padas, and to each pada of a naksatra a specific letter is assigned (e.g. cu, ce, co, and la for the four padas of Asvini) from which a person born in a particular pada of Asvini was called Cudamani, Cedisa, Colesa, or Laksmana.[2] Even so late a work as the Dharmasindhu (1790 A.D.) disapproves of names, not warranted by the smrtis. These names are called naksatra-nama; they are secret and muttered into the ear of the brahmacari at his upanayana even now.

Now we consider the views of grammarians on naming a person.

Panini divides the names into four principal classes.[3]

(1). Gotra names mentioned in chap.4, pada 1 of the Astadhyayi, e.g. Gargya.

(2). Patronymics, e.g. Upagu's son called Aupagava (Tasyapatyam, IV.1.92).

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1. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.104.

2. Kane, P.V., I.H.Q., XIV, p.238.

3. Agrawala,V.S., India as known to Panini, p.182.

(3). Names derived from localities, where a person or his ancestors lived.

(4). Personal names proper (V.3.78,84; V.3.85; VI.2.106; VI.2.159; VI.2.165).

The main features of Personal names proper as shown by Panini are [1] :

(i). Contraction of names where either there is elision of the Uttarapada (V.3.82) or the retention only of its first two syllables (V.3.83).

(ii). Names derived from stars (Naksatra Nama).

(iii). Names ending in Udara, asva and isu (VI.2.107); in Karna (VI.2.112); in Kantha, pratha, griva and jangha (V.2.114); in Srnga (VI.2.115); in mitra (VI.2.165); in ajina (VI.2.165); in sena (VIII.3.99); in Datta and Sruta (VI.2.148); in putra (VI.2.132).

(iv). Some names were prefixed by upa (V.3.78-80).

(v). Names with the first part manasa (VI.3.4), Sevala, Supari, Visala, Varuna and Aryana (V.3.84).

(vi). Abbreviated names were generally formed by shortening the polysyllabic name with the addition of suffixes : iya (V.3.79); ila (V.3.79); ada and aka (V.3.80); ka (V.3.75; VII.1.150).

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1. India as k

1. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, pp. 183-191.

Patanjali in his Mahabhasya mentions Panini by matronymic.[1]

He says that parents name their child some days after his birth just as Devadatta and Yajnadatta and as a result other people also know him by the same name.[2]

The Angavijja[3], a work generally placed in the third century, has much useful material about names. The 26th chapter of this work is devoted to proper names. The general rules prescribed for naming the persons are as follows :

The names of men were formed from gottanama, ayanama (constellations), kamma (profession), sarira (body) and karana (office).[4] Under aya are quoted the examples kinnaka, kataraka, chadditaka. Sarira names are good or bad. They are sanda (bull), vikada (terrible), kharada (lowest), khallada (bald), vipina (forest).[5]

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1. सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः ।
   महाभाष्य on पाणिनि
   I.1.20 (Vol.I, p.75)

2. Vide महाभाष्य Vol.I, p.38.
   लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संज्ञतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरुपचारादन्येपि जानन्तीयमस्य संज्ञेति ।
   Vide, Kane, I.H.Q., XIV, 1938, p.243.

3. अंगविज्जा, मुनिपुण्यविजय, प्राकृतग्रंथपरिषद्, वाराणसी 1957.

4. Ibid, p.152 : तत्थ मणुस्सणामधेज्जं पंचविधं, तं जधा -
   १. गोत्तणामधेज्जं, २. अयणामकं, ३. कम्मणामधेज्जं, ४. सरीरणामं, ५. करणणामं चेति ।

5. Ibid, p.152.

The friendly names ended with the suffixes nandi, nanda, dinna, nandaka and nandika.[1]

The names indicating defects of the body are khandasisa (broken head), kana (blind of one eye), pillaka (discarded), kujja (hunchback), vamanaka (dwarf), kuvi(ni)ka (lame), sabala (spotted), khanja (lame), and vadabha (distorted).[2]

Proper names were also formed on the basis of complexion, fair complexion being designated as Avadataka, Seda and Sedila; light black as Sama, Samali and Samaka-Samala, and black as Kalaka and Kalika.

Names based on beauties of the human body are : sumuha (handsome), sudamsana (pleasing personality), suruva (beautiful), jata (well-born), and sugata (pleasing gait).

The names based on age are: balaka (child), daharaka (boy), majjhima (middle-aged), thavira-thera (old).[3]

The following endings of proper names are mentioned : tata, datta, dinna, mitta, gutta, bhuta, pala, pali, samma, yasa, rata, ghosa, bhanu, viddhi, nandi, nanda, mana, uttara, palita, rakhi, nandana, nandaka, and sahitamahaka.[4]

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1. Ibid, p.152. VS. 1-2.
2. Ibid, p.153 : खंडसीस-काण-पिल्लक-कुज-वामनक-कुविक-सबल-खंज-वडभो चेति ।
3. Ibid, p.153 : बालक-डहरक - मज्झिम - थविर - थेरसमाणु-ज्ञाणि चयो जं सरीरजं चेति ।
4. Ibid, p.153.

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CHAPTER I

NAMES OF THE GUPTA KINGS AND QUEENS

Names of the Gupta kings

All the names of Gupta kings excepting Ghatotkaca have the suffix 'gupta' at the end. Before taking up the names of individual Gupta kings we may discuss the significance of the suffix 'gupta'. Does it signify the family (a vaisya family) or the predecessor of the family ?

In the inscriptions of the family Sri Gupta appears as the founder of the dynasty. His name is always given first in the dynastic table.[1] Moreover, we find in the Udayagiri Cave inscription, of the year 106[2] the wording "Guptanvyanam nrpasattamanam rajye" (in the reign of the family of the best of kings, belonging to the Gupta lineage) which shows that all these kings belonged to a family which was founded by Gupta; hence they were called Gupta.[3]

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1. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, C.I.I., III, L.29, p.28.
2. C.I.I., III, p.258, L.1.
3. Sarnath Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Budha Gupta, G.Y. 157, ASR 1914-15, pp.124-125. L.I., Sarnath Buddhist Stone Inscription of Kumaragupta II, G.Y. 154, 1914-15, p.124, L.I.

Here the prefix 'Sri' is an honorific as in the case of other Gupta emperors mentioned in the inscriptions.[1] Had the name of the first king been 'Sri Gupta', it would have been mentioned as Sri Sri Gupta[2] as we find in the case of the name of Srimati in the Deo-Barnark Inscription of Jivitagupta II.[3] If we accept that Gupta was the name of the first king of the family we may dismiss the possibility of Gupta ending being a vaisya suffix.

Now, the question arises why the family was named after Gupta ? In many cases families are named after some important person in them, and when once a family is so named, the tradition is maintained even though the successors may reach much higher positions. Before Gupta this family might not have attained any significant status. For the first time Gupta got the status of a Maharaja as is mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions;[4] the status remained unchanged in the second generation, and from the third generation the Gupta kings became Maharajadhirajas. Literally, maharaja means a great king. But the apparent and deliberate differentiation in the status of the earlier and later

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1. Cf. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, C.I.I., III, LL.28-29, p.8.

2. It may be noted that here also the epithet Sri indicates that the founder's name was 'Gupta'.
Cf. Sircar,D.C., I.H.Q.,XIX,p.19: "The first known king of the Gupta dynasty was Gupta whose son was Ghatotkaca; but when the latter's son Candragupta I founded an empire, his descendents always stuck to the name-ending gupta and soon the family became known as the Gupta dynasty";
Cf. Sharma,Dashrath, Journal of the Bihar Research Society, XXXIX, p.265.

3. Sri-srimatyam: C.I.I., III, p.215, L.2.

4. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, C.I.I.,III, L.28, p.8.

kings suggests that the political status of Gupta was not much high in his own times.[1] Probably he was only a feudral chief and not an independent king.

The name Gupta is so short that it looks suspiciously queer. But we must point out that the first part has not been lost or damaged in the inscription. Palaeographically it is quite categorical that the name is Gupta only, there is no loss or damage of words.

In ordinary life in all societies we find the convenient tendency to drop one part of the name. We address a person by the purvapada or the uttarapada whichever is convenient to us. By the passage of time that name becomes his popular name. In some cases even his original name may be forgotten. In our own case Gupta may have been the uttarapada of the name of the first king by which he may have been generally known. The name Gupta was probably very popular, so much so that the dynasty itself was named after it.

The practice of shortening the names is not known for the Vedic times; it is noticed by Panini and seems to have been fashionable in the times of Katyayana and Patanjali.[2] Several examples of it are also met with in the Buddhist literature.

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1. Gokhale, B.G., Samudragupta, Life and Times, p.28.

2. For details of abbreviated names, places, see Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, pp.190-192.

In modern historical usage Sri has become so much associated with the name of the first king of the Gupta dynasty that it has become a real part of his name generally written as 'Sri Gupta'.

The psychology behind it may be that the use of the smaller name sounds queer and it is brought at par with other names in the dynasty, e.g., Candragupta, Samudragupta, Kumaragupta, etc.

V.A.Smith[1] suggests that this name was not simply Gupta, but Srigupta, implying thereby that Sri is an integral part of his name, not the honorific prefix. Fleet has thoroughly refuted[2] all his arguments and we may not discuss them here.

Some corroborative evidence for the historicity of Sri Gupta is afforded by two seals of which one is in Prakrit and gives the legend 'Gautasya' while the other is in Sanskrit and has the reading 'Sri Guptasya'. It is most probable that these seals belong to the founder of the Gupta dynasty, especially the Sanskrit Seal.[3]

The word 'Gupta' is derived from 'gup' to protect.[4] The Visnu Purana[5] says – "(The termination) sarman is prescribed for

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1. J.A.S.B., Vol. LIII, part I, p.119, and note.
2. C.I.I., III, p.8, note 3.
3. E.I., XV, pp.42-43.
4. See, Thomas, F.W., 'The Root Gup and the Guptas', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1909, pp. 740-743.
5. Book, III, chap. 10, verse 9.

a Brahmana; varman belongs to a Ksatriya; (and) a name characterised by gupta or dasa is approved of in the case of (respectively) a Vaisya and a Sudra." The commentary in the Bombay edition gives as examples, Somasarman, Indravarman, Candragupta, and Sivadasa.[1] The Manavadharmasastra[2] also lays down a similar rule without specifying terminations. On the basis of these authorities, it has been suggested that the Early Guptas were not of a high caste, being at best Vaisyas, and hence felt pride in their matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis.[3]

But we find that the rules regarding the naming of persons prescribed in the Dharmasastras were not always strictly followed. To give only a few examples the name of the well known astronomer, Brahmagupta, a brahmana, ended in 'Gupta' and likewise Dasavarman is the name of a Brahmana, in line 36 of the Nerur grant of Vijayaditya (dated Saka-samvat 627).[4]

We know of the names of the kings ending in Gupta as early as second century B.C. from the records of the excavations and explorations conducted in Central India.[5] It may be noted from

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1. See also F.E.Hall's edition of H.H.Wilson's Translation, Vol.III, p.99f.
2. Manavadharmasastra, II,31, Burnell's translation, p.20.
3. This is shown by the appearance of the name of Kumaradevi and her father's family on some gold coins of Candragupta I, and by the regular use of the epithet, "daughter's son of Licchavi (or of a Licchavi king)" for Samudragupta in the genealogical passages in the inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty.
4. I.A., Vol.IX, p.131.
5. Bajpai, K.D., S.K.Bhuyan Commemoration Volume, p.119: A circular lead piece bearing the seal mark of Indragupta 'Rano Indagutasa' inscribed in the Mauryan Brahmi script was recovered which gave the name of a king who ruled over Eran about 200 B.C.

the Talagund stone pillar inscription of the time of Santivarman (c.455-70 A.D.)[1] that the grandson of a brahmana king Mayurasarman was named as Kaku(ut)sthavarman. Thus on linguistic consideration no weightage can be given to the word 'gupta' denoting a Vaisya class.

In this context we must note that Prabhavatigupta, the daughter of Candragupta II and chief queen of the Vakataka king Rudrasena II describes herself as belonging to the Dharana gotra in her Poona and Rithpur copper plate inscriptions.[2] Dharana is clearly the gotra of her father, as the gotra of her husband is specifically mentioned as 'Visnuvrddha' in the Chammak copper plate inscription of Pravarasena II.[3]

This Dharana gotra has been variously interpreted by scholars.

Jayaswala takes it to stand for Dhanri a Jat clan found in Amritsar, and on the basis of the Kaumudimahotsava he concludes that Candragupta I was a Karaskara or Kakkar jat.[4] This view has been supported by Gokhale.[5]

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.475.

2. Ibid, p.436 ;
see Ibid, pp.436-37, F.N.9 : The queen refers to her paternal gotra rather than that of her husband's family and thus contradicts the injunctions of the Smrtis, p.439.

3. Ibid, p.443.

4. Jayaswal, K.P., History of India (150 B.C.-350 A.D.), pp. 115-16.

5. Gokhale, B.G., Samudragupta, Life and Times, pp. 25-26.

Jayaswal emphasises the similarity between the name of the Dharaniya jats in Ganganagar district of Rajasthan and the Dharana gotra of the Guptas.[1] Candragomin's grammatical illustration "ajayat jarto Hunan" (The jarta or Jat king defeated the Hunas) has also been interpreted by Jayaswal to refer to the Gupta ruler Skandagupta's victory over the Hunas.[2] Thus the jat origin of the Guptas Jayaswal a favourite thesis of Jayaswal.

According to Raychaudhuri the Dharana gotra of the Guptas suggests that they were related to Dharini, the chief queen of Agnimitra Sunga.[3] This view is untenable, the similarity in the two names is not sufficient to establish the origin of the Dharana gotra.

On the basis of the evidence of the Skandapurana Dashrath Sharma[4] says that Dharana was a gotra of the Brahmanas of Dharmaranya, a tract in the present Mirzapur district of Eastern Uttar Pradesh. But, Sharma is not ready to accept that the Guptas were Brahmanas, he considers them to be either Ksatriyas or Vaisyas

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1. J.B.O.R.S., 1934, p.235.

2. Ibid, XIX, pp.115-16.
   Majumdar disagrees with this surmise some scholars have given the emendation 'Gupta' for the original Jarto, Jato or Japto which also is not, however, acceptable (Majumdar, R.C.). The Vakataka-Gupta Age, p.197, see f.n.1).
   Hoernle while identifying the people with jats and interprets the passage, as referring to the defeat of the Hunas by Yasodharman.

3. Raychaudhuri, H.C., Political History of Ancient India (5th ed) p.526, f.n. 1.

4. Purana, Vol.VII, No.1 (Jan.1965), pp. 183-85.

who adopted the gotra of their gurus, without violating the laws of the Smrtis and the Dharmasastras.[1]

But Goyal[2] considers the Guptas to be Brahmanas. He relies on the evidence of their matrimonial alliances :

We find that Prabhavatigupta, the daughter of Candragupta II, was married to brahmana king Rudrasena II.[3] Kadamba king Kaku(ut)sthavarman who was a Brahmana says that he married one of his daughters to a Gupta king.[4] Buddhist scholar Paramartha (600 A.D.) says that Baladitya, the Gupta king, married his sister to Vasurata, a Brahmana by caste.[5] According to the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman Bhanugupta (most probably a daughter of the Gupta king Bhanugupta) was the 'wife of a certain Ravikirtti, evidently a Brahmana, who was the grandfather of Dharmadosha, the minister of Yasodharman.'[6]

Thus, we see that three of the Gupta princesses were married to Brahmanas.[7] There is only one instance of the Guptas marrying

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1. Ibid, p.185, f.n.8; (Mitaksara, N.5, edn. p.151) :

   'राजन्यविद्यां प्रातिष्ठिक् श्रोत्राभावात् प्रवराभावस्तथापि पुरोहितं वैरो । वैदितव्यो ।

   This is the view also of Baudhayana, Apastamba and Laugaksi.

2. Goyal, S.R., '<u>A History of the Imperial Guptas</u>, pp.78-81.
3. Ibid, p.78.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, p.80.
6. Ibid, p.81.
7. These three marriages are not of much importance as a brahmana can marry from any caste according to the injunctions of the Smrtis. So even as of lower class than Brahmanas Guptas could have married their daughters to the Brahmanas.

a daughter of a Kadamba king, who was a Brahmana.[1]

It is to be noted that matrimonial alliances played a significant part in the foreign policy of the Guptas. Candragupta I rose to power by marrying the Licchavi princess Kumaradevi and Samudragupta accepted the offers of daughters from his feudatories. Thus, marriages with the most powerful and distinguished royal families in different parts of India continued to be an important policy of the Guptas.[2]

Thus, the matrimonial alliances of the Guptas seem to have sprung from political considerations.[3] Politically the Kadambas were no match for the Guptas. It may be inferred that it was on account of political pressures or as a matter of pride for the Kadambas that they had married their daughter to the Gupta king. We can explain all the matrimonial alliances of the Guptas even without bringing political reasons in the picture. As we know intercaste marriages, especially of the anuloma type has been permitted by the Smrtis. In three out of the four cases Gupta princesses were married to Brahmana bridegrooms. If these are taken to have been anuloma marriages Guptas could have belonged to any of the remaining three varnas. It is only the marriage of

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1. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age, p.170: It has been suggested that Candragupta II arranged a marriage between his son and the daughter of Kakustha-varman, the most powerful ruler of the Kadamba family who was the ruler of Kuntala, Kanarese country in the Bombay Presidency.

2. Cf. Ibid, p.170.

3. Ibid, p.169.

a Kadamba princess with a Gupta king which requires the Guptas to have been Brahmanas, otherwise it will be a case of a pratiloma marriage.

The Guptas do not mention their caste in any of their records. Had they been Brahmanas they must have been proud to refer it, especially because they were staunch supporters of Hinduism, we find a parallel in the case of Pala kings of Bengal who are silent about their caste since they were Buddhists.

Finally Candragupta I agreed to have a joint coinage with the Licchavis after his marriage with the Licchavi princess Kumaradevi. Had the Gupta kings been Brahmanas, they would not have agreed to have a joint coinage (bearing the legend 'Licchavayah', the Licchavis) with the Licchavis who were Vratya ksatriyas.[1] Even if the Guptas had agreed for a joint coinage as a political matter, they might have objected the word 'Licchavayah' on the coins. More astonishing is the fact that even the name of the Guptas is not linked with the legend 'Licchavayah'. Above that, Samudragupta was ready to be called Licchavi-dauhitra and seems to have inscribed this epithet on his records as a matter of pride.[2] If

1. Cf. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.128.

2. Majumdar believes that 'we may reasonably assume that the marriage of Candragupta and Kumaradevi led to the amalgamation of the Gupta principality with the Licchavi state, and the epithet Licchavi-dauhitra was deliberately given to Samudragupta to emphasise his right of succession to the dual monarchy'. (Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.129). Cf. Pathak, V.S., J.N.S.I., XIX, Pt.II, pp.140-41. Pathak takes the meaning of Dauhitra in the technical sense of the Smrtis, i.e., "a person having dual parentage(dvamusyayana)

Guptas could do such acts as political matters, we do not admit them to be orthodox Brahmanas and are not ready to give any weightage to their matrimonial alliances as Goyal has done for the consideration of their caste. They were kings, for them all such matters were first political and then social.[1]

Thus we can conclude that the question of the caste of the Guptas cannot be said to have been finally settled. If their dharana gotra was not borrowed from the gotra of their purohita then they must be described as Brahmanas. We will have to wait for some more weighty and specific evidence to give the final verdict.

Following are the names of Gupta kings which we divide into two categories :

A. Main rulers

B. Other members of the dynasty

A. Main rulers

1. Gupta

2. Ghatotkaca

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1. We know that Seleucus married his daughter to Candragupta Maurya even though the Greeks used the word barbarian for non-Greek (Fowler,H.W.,and Fowler,F.G., The Concise Oxford Dictionary, p.91) and were not in favour of mixing with them. Marriages among kings attached more significance to political than to social considerations.

3. Candragupta I
4. Samudragupta
5. Candragupta II
6. Govindagupta
7. Kumaragupta I
8. Skandagupta
9. Purugupta
10. Kumaragupta II
11. Budhagupta
12. Narasimhagupta
13. Kumaragupta III
14. Visnugupta

B. Other members of the dynasty

1. Ghatotkacagupta
2. Vainyagupta
3. Bhanugupta

A. Main rulers

1. Gupta (No.1,L.28; No.21,L.4; No.22,L.1; No.48,L.1; No.50,L.1; No.51,L.1; No.52,L.2; L.4; No.54,L.1) : He was the founder of the family. We have already discussed his name.

2. Ghatotkaca (No.1,L.28; No.48,L.1; No.54,LL.1-2; No.47,L.1; No.50,L.1; No.51,L.1; No.41,L.3; No.21,L.4) :

The inscriptions name Maharaja Ghatotkaca as the successor of Gupta. He should not be confused with Ghatotkacagupta whose name occurs on some seals found at Vaisali, and also in the

Tumain Inscription of Kumaragupta and Ghatotkacagupta (G.E.116).[1]

Ghatotkaca was the name of a son of Bhima-sena by the Raksasi Hidimba.[2] Names based on Ghata are very rare in Sanskrit literature. Thus Ganesa is named Ghatodara 'pot-bellied'.[3] The name Ghatotkaca refers to the practice of traditional names based on Epics and Puranas. Derivatively it means a person having a hairless head.[4] In Pracina Caritrakosa it has been suggested that Ghatotkaca was called so as his head was like a ghata (pitcher) and was hairless.[5] Tripathi suggests another derivation on the basis of the Skanda Purana that Ghatotkaca was called so as he produced a loud voice while laughing which may be compared to the voice produced by thumping the pitcher quite aloud at its mouth by hands.[6] But the first derivation seems to be more

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1. E.I., Vol.XXVI, No.11, p.117, 1.3.
2. M.W., p.375, col.1; Mahabharata, i, iii; Bhagavata Purana, ix, 22,29.
3. Kathasaritsagara, IV.165.
4. M.W., p.375, col.1. घट. = the head (Mahabharata I,255,38).
   Ibid, p.175, col.3 उत्कच = hairless.
5. सिद्धेश्वरशास्त्री भारतवर्षीय प्राचीन कोश, पृ. १९८।
6. भगीरथ प्रसाद त्रिपाठी, ~~[illegible]~~ पाणिनीयधातुपाठसमीक्षा,
   पृ. १४८। घटोत्कच √गज् (गर्जं) हसने।।
   भीमसुतोऽभिधेयं घटवद् हसनात् "घटोत्कच" इति जातम् - तच-
   रुपमहं दृष्ट्वा घटहासं सघोत्कचम्।
   प्रणम्य पादयोर्वीर ?? स्थिता ते वचनङ्करी ॥

plausible from linguistic point of view.[1]

It is possible that it might have been the nickname of Ghatotkaca which might have become his famous name.

3. Candragupta I (No.48,L.2; No.54,L.2; No.41,L.3; No.21,L.5; No.1, L.28;No.30,L.1) : While his two predecessors are each given the title of Maharaja, Candragupta I is described in the inscriptions as Maharajadhiraja, 'king of kings'. Mookerjee connects the passage from the Puranas defining the extent of Gupta territory with the period before Samudragupta, i.e., under Candragupta I.[2] It has been suggested that Candasena of the play 'Kaumudi-Mahotsava' may to be identified with Candragupta I. The Licchavi alliance is the common point in the account given by the drama and the inscriptions.[3] Other details of the drama, however, do not support this identification. The drama condemns Candasena as a usurper and belonging to low caste whom the citizens of Magadha could not tolerate and drove out to die as an exile. Linguistically also Candasena and Candragupta are different names. Candra can become Canda in Prakrit but Gupta cannot be transformed into Sena. Moreover,

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1. In colloquial Panjabi a hairless person is called 'Roda', 'Rodu'. He is generally referred so in his absence but in presence called so in rough tone or satirically. In Bengali such a person is called 'Nyara matha' and in Telugu it is called 'Gundu'.

2. Mookerjee,R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.13 :
"The kings born of the Gupta family will rule over the territories (Janapadas) situated along the Ganges (anu Ganga) such as Prayaga, Saketa (Oudh) and Magadha".

3. Mookerjee,R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.14.

in the fifth act of the play we are informed through a character Lokaksi that the cursed Candasena has been killed and his royal family uprooted.[1] Thus we know about the total annihilation of the dynasty after the death of Candasena which is contrary to the dynasty of Candragupta which ruled for several generations after him.[2]

The name of the deity Candra 'moon' has been given to this king; Gupta is the surname. It may refer to his handsome physical features.

4. Samudragupta (No.1,L.29; No.48,L.3; No.54,L.3; No.21,LL.6-7; No.2,L.10; No.41,L.4; No.42,L.1; No.10,L.4; No.50,L.3; No.51,L.3; No.13,L.4; No.12,L.19) :

He is introduced as Maharajadhiraja in all references except the Mathura Pillar Inscription of Candragupta II, G.E.61[3] where he is mentioned as Bhattarakamaharaja(rajadhi)raja. He was the daughter's son of the Licchavis, and son of Maharajadhiraja Sri Candragupta I born on the queen Kumaradevi.[4] He has been mentioned as a 'Paramabhagavata' (a devout devotee of Lord Visnu).[5] No.2, L.10 gives the justification of his name

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1. [illegible] ..... [illegible] राजकुलम् ।

2. Cf. Katre,S.M. and Gode,P.K., A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Thomas, F.W. (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay), 1939. Jagannath 'The Kaumudimahotsava As a Historical Play', pp.116-117.

3. E.I. Vol. XXI, No.1, p.8, L.1.

4. No. 1, L.29.

5. No. 41, L.4.

Samudragupta.[1] Due to his valour and generous behaviour to his vassals he was rightly called a Sea to whom all the rivers come and who is not perturbed at all.[2] Mookerji says that the name Samudragupta was probably a title assumed after his conquests. It means 'protected by the sea' and may refer his dominion which extended upto the sea. The Mathura Inscription of Candragupta II actually describes the fame of his conquests as extending up to the four oceans (caturudadhisalilasvaditayasah). The name Samudragupta may be split up into two parts, Samudra being his personal name, and Gupta being his surname. This is supported by the fact that the obverse of his coins of standard type sometimes bears the legend 'Samudra' while the reverse has 'Parakramah' as his title. The name 'Samudra' also appears on some other types of his coins, such as the Archer type and Battle-Axe type.[3] Mookerji[4] holds that Samudragupta's personal name was Kacha and that Samudragupta was his title. But the identification of Kacha with Samudragupta has been rightly opposed by scholars.[5]

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1. No.2, L.1 : (पुत्रो) सभूव धनदान्तक-तुष्टि-कोप तुल्यः (पराक्र)म-
मयेन समुद्रगुप्तः। भगवपुष्पा, निष्कलदारस्वम्
2. भगवपुष्पा, निष्कलदारस्वम्, श्रीमद्भगवद्गीत र।
समभिप्रपन्नैनमाप ः।
3. Op.cit., The Gupta Empire, p.17.
4. Ibid.
5. अनंत सदाशिव अल्तेकर : गुप्तकालीन मुद्राएं नागपुर ॥

pp J.R.A.S.,1889, pp.75-76; J.R.A.S., 1893, p.95; I.A.,1902, p.259; C.I.I.,III, p.27; British Museum Catalogue Introduction, p.32.

Vamana in his Kavyalamkara[1] refers to Candraprakasa as the son of Candragupta which Goyal takes to be another name of Samudragupta.[2] But it seems to be the name of a local king of Ayodhya than that of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.[3] Another probable and most suitable explanation of the name 'Samudragupta' may be 'protected by Lord Siva', Samudra being an epithet of Siva.[4]

Samudragupta is given many epithets in No.1. Some of these are also supported by numismatic evidence.[5]

5. Candragupta II (No.30,L.1,L.2; No.32,L.2; No.47,L.4; No.3, L.1; No.7,L.1; No.6,L.1; No.7,L.10; No.47,L.3; No.54,L.4; No.43,L.1; No.48,L.4; No.42,L.2; No.40,L.1,L.6; No.5,L.3, L.7; No.20,L.5) :

He is mentioned as 'apratiratha', 'paramabhagavata' 'maharajadhiraja' and son of maharajadhiraja S ri Samudragupta born of his chief queen Dattadevi;[6] or as 'Bhattaraka-maharajadhiraja, the good son of the Bhattaraka-maharajidharaja, the illustrious Samudragupta;[7] or in one case simply as a king (raja) in No.30,L.1. In No.47,L.3,L.4, his title is 'Vikramaditya'. We

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1. III.2.2.

2. Goyal,S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, p.209.

3. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), pp.155-56, f.n.2.

4. M.W., p.1166, col.3;
   Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965),pp.290-91,f.n.4.

5. Mookerji, R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.40.

6. No.54, L.4.

7. No.42, L.2.

hear of his other names as well. Devaraja as his favourite name (priya nama) is mentioned in No.5,L.7.[1] In the Poona copper plate inscription of Prabhavatigupta and the Riddhapura grants of Prabhavatigupta her father's name is Candragupta.[2] The Chammak copper plate inscription of Vakataka king Pravarasena II names Prabhavatigupta's father as Devagupta.[3] This proves that Devagupta was another name of Candragupta. Candragupta had a third name, Deva-Srī, which appears on his Archer and Conch-types of Coins.[4] No.32, L.2 justifies his name Candragupta 'who is like a moon in the galaxy of Gupta kings with the famous name Candragupta'.[5] No.20, L.5 refers to his quality of handsomeness. 'His name was Candra and he was holding the glory of a full moon on his face'.[6]

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1. C.I.I., III, p.32, note 1 ;

   Ibid, p.33, note 6, Fleet takes as the name of one of his ministers.

2. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), pp. 436, 439.

3. Ibid, p.444, LL.14-16.

   ... वाकाटकानां महाराज श्रीरुद्रसेनसूनोर्महाराजाधिराज-श्रीदेवगुप्त सुतायां प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य (उत्पन्नस्य)...।

4. Mookerji, R.K., The Gupta Empire, pp.44-45.

5. No. 32, L. 2 : गुप्तकुलव्योमशशि चन्द्रकल्पः श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तप्रथिताभिधानः।

6. No. 20, L. 5 :

   चन्द्राह्वेन समग्रचन्द्रसदृशीं वक्त्रश्रियं बिभ्रता ।

   See the appendix No.

6. <u>Govindagupta</u> (No.43,L.2; No.32,L.3) : In No.43, he is mentioned as the son of Candragupta II. His mother's name was Dhruvasvamini. No.32 explains the basis of his name : "The lord of the earth, i.e. king Candragupta, produced a son whose exalted name was Govindagupta who was as famous as Govinda (Visnu) for the glory of his virtues, and who resembled the sons of Diti and Aditi, i.e. the demons and gods.[1] The poet means that Govindagupta resembled demons in physical strength and valour, and gods in spiritual virtues.

Govindagupta probably ruled as emperor between (his father) Candragupta II and (his younger brother) Kumaragupta I. His reign could not have been more than three years, the interval between the last known date of Candragupta II (G.E.93) and the earliest known date of Kumaragupta I (G.E.96).[2] That Govindagupta could have ruled as emperor only for a very short period is also evident from the fact that he has left no coins. Being a collateral, Govindagupta does not appear in the genealogical table in the inscriptions of Kumaragupta and his successors.[3]

It is also likely that Kumaragupta defeated or ousted Govindagupta and seized the throne; and after his accession,

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1. No. 32, LL. 3-4 :

    गोविन्दवत्ख्यात-गुण-प्रभावो गोविन्दगुप्तोर्जित-नामधेयम् ।
    वसुन्धरेशस्तनयं प्रजज्ञे स दित्यदित्योस्तनयैस्सरूपम् ॥

2. Cf. Jagannath, 'Govindagupta, a new Gupta emperor', I.H.Q., XXII, pp. 286 ff.

3. E.I. 27, pp. 13-14.

avoided all references to his elder brother.[1]

7. Kumaragupta I (No.30,L.2; No.54,L.5; No.50,L.5; No.51,L.5; No.40,L.7; No.17,L.13;No.30,L.4; No.31,L.1; No.40,L.3; No.47,L.4; No.35,LL.1-2;No.34,L.2) :

No.30,L.2 says that Sri Candragupta's son Kumaragupta resembled the great Indra (Mahendra), who embraced and protected the whole earth.[2] In No.54,L.5 Kumaragupta is mentioned as 'Maharajadhiraja' son of 'paramabhagavata Maharajadhiraja Sri Candragupta' born of the chief queen Dhruvadevi. He has been mentioned as father of Purugupta and son of Candragupta II.[3] In No.30, L.4 Kumaragupta is described as shining (ruling) over the earth like the Sun in the winter. He is called 'Paramabhattaraka' and 'Maharajadhiraja' in No.31, L.1. In No.47, L.4 he is mentioned only by his title 'Mahendraditya', and as the grandson of Samudragupta and son of Candragupta II. The Arya-Manju-Sri-Mulakalpa corroborates the title giving his name as Mahendra.[4] In No.34, L.2 he is mentioned as 'Paramadaivata', 'Paramabhattaraka' and 'Maharajadhiraja'.

Of the two parts of his name Kumara is the name of god Skanda (or Karttikeya)[5] and Gupta was his surname.

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1. 'Praci-Jyoti', Kurukshetra University Journal (June 1964),p.94.
2. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.297 :

   ....श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः, कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्समग्राम् ।
   ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्म्मपत्नीम् वीर्य्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् ॥
3. Nos. 50, 51, L.5.
4. Mookerji,R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.91.
5. M.W., p.292.

8. <u>Skandagupta</u> (No.15,L.3; No.47,LL.7-8; No.14,L.3; No.16,L.3; No.13,L.8; No.12,LL.6,11,23,25) :

In No.15 he is equated with Indra.[1] In No.47 he is described as equal to the Cakravartins in prowess and valour, to Rama in righteousness and to Yudhisthira in the matter of speaking the truth and in good conduct and modesty.[2] According to some scholars[3] these are vague praises; but in view of his achievements these epithets seem to be richly deserved. In No.14,L.2 he is described as 'rajarajadhiraja', and as 'Paramabhagavata' and 'Maharajadhiraja' in No.12, LL.23,25.

The name is based on god Skanda which is a synonym of Karttikeya.

9. <u>Purugupta</u> (No.48,L.6; No.54,L.6; No.50,L.6; No.51,L.6; No.39,L.1) :

We know from No.54 that Maharajadhiraja Sri Purugupta was the son of Maharajadhiraja Sri Kumaragupta by his chief queen Anantadevi. In No.39,L.1 the name of the father and predecessor of Narasimhagupta is spelt as Purugupta.[4] The reading

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1. No.15,L.3 : राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिप-शत-पतेः स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते ।

2. No.47,LL.4-8 : तस्य पुत्रः चक्रवर्तिनो महाबलविक्रमेण रामतुल्यो धर्म-परतया युधिष्ठिर सत्येनाचारविनयैः महाराज-श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तस्य ....।

3. E.I., XXXIII, p.307.

4. Purugupta was originally read as Puragupta -- Sircar,D.C., <u>Select Inscriptions</u>(ed.1965), p.330, f.n.2.

Purugupta is unmistakeable on the fragmentary Nalanda Seal of Narasimhagupta and is also fairly clear on the seals of Kumaragupta II. The medial u sign in the first letter of the name Purugupta is indicated by an additional stroke attached to the base of the letter and the downward elongation of its right limb; mere elongation of the right limb by itself would have denoted the short medial as in puttras in LL.2 and 3. In the second letter of the name, viz. ru, the medial u is shown by a small hook turned to left and joined to the foot of r. Palaeographical considerations apart, the name Purugupta yields a more plausible sense than Puragupta and fits better in the series of the grand and dignified names of the Gupta kings. The first part of the Gupta names constituted the real or substantive name and yield satisfactory meaning independently of the latter half, viz. gupta, which being family surname was a mere adjunct. Pura, by itself is neither a complete nor a dignified name while Puru is both. Puru or its variant Puru may, like Vainya in Vainya-Gupta signify the homonymous epic hero of the lunar race who was the ancestor of the Kauravas and the Pandavas, or may mean abundant or great.[1]

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1. E.I.,26, pp. 237-38 : Winternitz,M.A., History of Indian Literature, Vol.I, pp.379-8. From the Mahabharata 1,75 and 1,76-93, we know of the Yayati-legend which states that Yayati having become old demanded the youth of his sons to enjoy more lust, but every one declined except the youngest Puru who declared his willingness. Puru left his youth for Yayati. After enjoying the pleasures of youth for another thousand years Yayati still felt dissatisfied. At last he took up the burden of his old age and returned his son Puru his youth. He instated Puru on the throne and repaired to the forest.

10. Kumaragupta II (No.49,L.5) : Kumaragupta II was the immediate successor of Purugupta. In the light of the data given in two dated inscriptions, viz. the Sarnath Buddha Stone Image inscriptions of Kumaragupta and Budhagupta. The first (No.49) mentions A.D.473 as the date of Kumaragupta who must, therefore, be taken as Kumaragupta II and the second (No.55) mentions A.D.476 as the date of Budhagupta. No.49 records the date, Gupta Year 154,[1] when Kumaragupta was protecting[2] the earth. The renovation of the Sun temple mentioned in No.17, LL.20-21 seems to have taken place in his reign.[3] The reference[4] meant for Kumaragupta I has been wrongly connected with Kumaragupta II by Mookerji.[5] The temple was originally constructed in the reign of Kumaragupta I in M.S. 493 = A.D. 436 (L.19).

11. Budhagupta (No.55,L.1; No.56,L.2; No.18,L.2; No.33,L.1; No.54,L.8) :

Nos. 55, 56, 18 and 33 respectively mention him as reigning in G.Y.157, 159, 163 and 165. No.33 gives his titles as

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1. No.49, L.1 : वर्षशते गुप्तानां चतुः पञ्चाशदुत्तरे (गुप्तसम्वत् १५४ = ई. सं. ४७३)
2. No.49, L.1 : ...भुवं रक्षति कुमारगुप्ते....।
3. No.17, LL.20-21 : पञ्चसु शतेषु पंचसु विंशत्यधिकेषु नवसु वत्सरेषु (मालवसंवत् ५२९ = ई. स. ४७२)
4. No.17, L.13 : कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति ।
5. Mookerji, R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.109.

'paramadaivata', 'paramabhattaraka' and 'maharajadhiraja'. In No.54 he is mentioned as the son of Purugupta born of the queen Candradevi.[1] In No.56 his title is Maharajadhiraja. According to Sircar there is no space for the name of any other Gupta prince between Purugupta and Budhagupta and their relationship is clearly mentioned by the word 'putra' occurring at the end of line 6.[2] In other words Purugupta was the father of Budhagupta.

In his description of Nalanda Hiuen Tsang says that the monastic establishments at that place were enriched by the successive endowments of Sakraditya, Buddhagupta, Tathagatagupta and Baladitya.[3] On the strength of this statement it has been suggested that Budhagupta was the son of Kumaragupta I who had the title of Mahendraditya (Mahendra = Sakra).[4] In view of the clear epigraphic reference to the parentage of Budhagupta the proposed identification must be rejected.[5] The statement of Hiuen Tsang was based on hearsay and not on sound history, or else his Buddhagupta is not to be identified with Budhagupta of the Imperial Gupta line.

The name Budhagupta is based on Mercury. Buddhism had quite a prominent place in the time of Budhagupta. But in view

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1. See the appendix No.

2. I.H.Q., p.274.

3. Beal, S., Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol.II, p.168.

4. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, p.265.

5. I.H.Q., pp. 123-24 ;
Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.331, f.n.1.

of the special leaning of Gupta kings towards the Brahmanical faith we prefer to interpret Budha as referring to Mercury either as god Mercury (regarded as a son of Soma or the Moon) or as the planet Mercury.[1]

12. Narasimhagupta (No.48,L.8; No.50,L.7; No.51,L.7;No.39,L.2) : Narasimhagupta has been mentioned as 'Paramabhagavata' and 'Maharajadhiraja'. Hiranand Shastri[2] says that the seal of Narasimhagupta (No.48), though not entire is valuable in establishing his identity as the son of Purugupta born of the queen consort Sri Vainyadevi and not Vatsadevi as has hitherto been believed. But the correct reading of the name of her mother is Sri Candradevi, on his seal.[3] In No.51, L.6 we found his mother's name as 'Vatsadevi'. In No.50 he is mentioned as the father of Kumaragupta III. No.39 describes the issuer of this seal, Visnugupta, as the son and successor of Kumaragupta III, who in his turn was the son and successor of Narasimhagupta.

Narasimha is the name of Visnu in his fourth incarnation (Ava-tara), half man and half lion and slew the demon Hiranya-kasipu and saved the life of Prahlada.[4]

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1. M.W.,p.734 : Moreover Buddha (the name of lord Buddha) is spelt different from Budhagupta (one letter 'd' in the first part of the name is elided). The former means 'awakened' or fully enlightened man who has got wisdom, while the latter means the Constellation Mercury.

2. M.A.S.I., No.66, p.29.

3. See the appendix No.

4. M.W., p.529.

13. Kumaragupta III (No.50,L.8; No.51,L.8; No.39,L.3;No.48,L.5): Kumaragupta mentioned in Nos.50(L.8); 51(L.8); 39(L.3); 48(L.5) should be considered as Kumaragupta III. He is described as the son and successor of Narasimhagupta and has been given the title of Maharajadhiraja.

14. Vishnugupta (No.39, L.4) : Vishnugupta is mentioned here as a Paramabhagavata and Maharajadhiraja. He was the son and successor of Kumaragupta III who in his turn was the son and successor of Narasimhagupta. Unfortunately the name of the mother of Vishnugupta (and the wife of Kumaragupta III) has been lost in the broken portion of the last line.

The Kalighat hoard[1] contained besides Candragupta II's coins those of Narasimhagupta, Kumaragupta III and Vishnugupta. Altekar identified Vishnugupta of the coins with the homonymous ruler of the later Gupta family of Magadha, who flourished in the eighth century A.D.[2] At that time the learned professor had no knowledge of this seal of an earlier Vishnugupta.

His name is clearly based on god Vishnu.

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1. Allan, Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta dynasties, p.CXXVI.

2. As is known from his newly discovered inscription dated in the Year 117 (Harsha Era) = 723 A.D.

J.N.S.I., vol. III, part I, pp. 57 ff.

B. Other members of the dynasty

1. Ghatotkacagupta (No.46, L.1; No.30, L.3) : Ghatotkacagupta of No.30 is identical with that of No.46.

A distinction must be made between Ghatotkacagupta and Ghatotkaca, the latter being the grandfather of Samudragupta. Unfortunately the word expressing the exact relationship between Kumaragupta (the ruling emperor) and Ghatotkacagupta (the provincial governor) is lost in the missing portion of the inscription. He was probably a son or a younger brother of Kumaragupta I[1] and may have been one of the claimants for the throne after the death of Kumaragupta I.

2. Vainyagupta (No.52,L.5; No.53,L.1) : Vainya is the synonym for the first king 'Prthu'.[2] Hiranand Shastri mentions Vainya as a synonym of Kubera, the god of wealth. According to Sir Richard Burn Vainya was another name of Vajra whom Hiuen Tsang mentions as the son of Baladitya. He chiefly relies on the St. Petersburg dictionary where Vainya is derived from Vena and is connected with Indra; Vajra is the thunderbolt and Vainya is a patronymic from Vena who is Indra.[3] But the

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1. E.I., vol. XXVI, p.117.

2. M.W., p.1023; RV, VIII.IX.10; I.H.Q., Vol.VI, p.57, note 2.

3. M.A.S.I.,No.66, p.29.

suggested identification is extremely far-fetched. Vajra cannot by any stretch of imagination be described as a synonym of Vainya. Moreover it is difficult to believe that Hiuen Tsang would have referred to the king by such a name in preference of the real name.

In No.52 Vainyagupta is mentioned as a paramabhagavata and maharajadhiraja, but in No.53 he is described as a devotee of Lord Siva (bhagavan mahadevapadanudhyata) and a maharaja only. Some scholars hold that he was not disconnected with the Imperial Guptas, because whereas the Guptas were Vaisnavas Vainyagupta professed to be a Saiva.[1] But we find both the epithets 'paramabhagavata' and 'mahadevapadanudhyata' for him in our records.

It is interesting that even his padadasa and Uparika are styled as maharaja (LL.3 and 16). His title Maharaja, therefore, cannot prove that Vainyagupta was an insignificant prince.[2]

The legend on No.52, though partially preserved, resembles in point of style the legend on the other seals of the Imperial Guptas. Here Vainyagupta is specifically called paramabhagavata. Moreover his name, like those of other kings in the Gupta dynasty ends in the word Gupta. It is thus clear that Vainyagupta belonged to the line of the Imperial Guptas. He seems to have ruled in any case over considerable parts of Bengal and Bihar[3] almost immediately after Budhagupta. We do not know anything about the relationship of Vainyagupta with Budhagupta and

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1. I.H.Q., VI, pp.50-51.
2. Cf. Majumdar, R.C., History of Bengal, Vol.I, pp.49-50.
3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.341, note 4.

Bhanugupta of the Eran Inscription of 510 A.D.[1] Some scholars assign him a reign of four years before Bhanugupta (510 A.D.).[2]

The reign period of Vainyagupta witnessed a considerable decline in the power and prestige of the Imperial Guptas. The rise of the ruling dynasty consisting of Dharmaditya, Gopacandra and Samacaradeva in Central and South-West Bengal in the first half of the sixth Century A.D., possibly points to the extirpation of Gupta rule from Bengal excepting the Pundravardhana bhukti (North Bengal).[3]

3. Bhanugupta (No.19,L.5) : He is known only from No.19. No other coin or seal of his has yet come to light. As regards the position of Bhanugupta, several alternatives are possible. First, he may have been a successor of Vainyagupta and the dominions of both may have included parts of Eastern Malwa. Second, Vainyagupta may have been the lord of the eastern part of the Gupta Empire when its western part was being ruled by Bhanugupta. Third, Bhanugupta may have been a viceroy in the Malwa region like Govindagupta and Ghatotkacagupta. It is possible that he belonged to the Imperial Gupta line but whether he succeeded Vainyagupta, or the two

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.346 f.

2. I.H.Q., VI, pp.50-51.

3. I.H.Q., XIX, pp. 275-76 ;
Cf. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), pp.210-11.

ruled at the same time respectively over the western and eastern parts of the empire, it is difficult to determine. The latter view seems more probable and this internal dissension perhaps paved the way for the downfall of the empire.[1] Bhanugupta, in spite of the high encomiums paid to his bravery in Eran Inscription, remains a shadowy figure, and we do not know what was his position in the Gupta Imperial family, or what part he played in the dark days of the Gupta empire.[2]

His name is based on the god Sun 'Bhanu'.

Names of the Gupta queens

The names of the following are of Gupta queens available in our inscriptions. They have been mentioned as Mahadevis.

1. Kumaradevi
2. Dattadevi
3(a). Dhruvadevi
(b). Dhruvasvamini
4. Anantadevi
5. Candradevi
6. Sriva(tsa)devi
7. Mitradevi

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1. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.190.
2. Ibid, p.191.

1. Kumaradevi (No.1,L.29; No.4,L.8; No.10,L.4; No.12,L.18; No.13,L.3; No.21,LL.5-6; No.41,L.4; No.48,L.2; No.54,L.2; No.50,L.2; No.51,L.2) :

She was the wife of Candragupta I and mother of Samudragupta. Kumara, the basis of her name has already been explained under Kumaragupta.

2. Dattadevi (No.4,L.10; No.10,L.5; No.12,L.20; No.13,L.4; No.48,L.3; No.54,L.3; No.50,L.3 ; No.51,L.3) :

She is mentioned as the wife of Samudragupta and mother of Candragupta II. Datta means 'given' or protected.[1] We also find 'Datta' as the name-ending suffix for male names in literature.

3(a). Dhruvadevi (No.54,L.5; No.12,L.21; No.13,L.5; No.50,L.4; No.51,L.4 ; No.48,L.5) :

She was the mother of Kumaragupta I and wife of Candragupta II. Literally 'Dhruva' means unchangeable or constant. It is also the name of the polar star (personified as son of Uttana-pada and grandson of Manu).[2]

3(b). Dhruvasvamini (No.43,LL.3-4) : We come to know of Dhruvasvamini only in No.43. Lines 1-3 mention her as the wife of Candragupta II and mother of Govindagupta. As we have noticed Dhruvadevi elsewhere appears as the wife of Candragupta II and mother of Kumaragupta I. It is not much likely that Candragupta II had two queens with almost identical names. As the real name of the two is the same (Dhruva) it would be better to hold that Dhruvasvamini was another name of Dhruvadevi and Kumaragupta I and Govindagupta were real brothers.

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1. M.W., p.467.
2. Ibid, p.521.

4. Anantadevi (No.50,L.5; No.51,L.5; No.54,L.6; No.48,L.6) : She is mentioned as the wife of Kumaragupta I and mother of Purugupta. According to Monier Williams Ananta is the name alike of Visnu; Sesa (the Snake-god); Sesa's brother Vasuki; Krsna; his brother Baladeva; Siva; and Rudra; and is also included in the list of the Visva-devas and the Arhats, etc.

5. Candradevi[1] (No.48,L.7; No.54,L.7) : The name of the mother of Budhagupta occurring at the beginning of the extant portion of line 7 is not clearly legible; it consists of four letters, the first of which is either Ca or Va and the second is certainly n with some subscript mark or letter; the third and fourth letters clearly read devyam. It is, therefore, highly probable that her name was Candradevi, known from some seals to have been the name of the queen of Purugupta. Hiranand Shastri[2] takes the relevant legend to be 'Srivainyadevyam'[3] but regards the correct reading to be Candra.

No.48 mentions Candradevi as the name of the mother of Narasimhagupta.

In No.54 Candradevi is mentioned as the mother of Budhagupta and wife of Purugupta.

The name Candradevi is based on the god Candra (Moon).

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1. See the appendix No.
2. M.A.S.I., No.66, p.65, L.7.
3. Ibid, note 2 (Also see A.S.R., 1934-35, p.63 ed.).

6. Sriva(tsa)devi[1] (No.50,L.6; No.51,L.6) : 'Sriva' is clearly legible but the terminal 'tsa' can only faintly be seen.

She is mentioned as the wife of Purugupta and mother of Narasimhagupta. 'Srivatsa' is the name of Visnu, which literally means 'favourite of Sri'.[2]

7. Mitradevi (No.50,LL.7-8; No.51,L.7) : No.50 mentions mahadevi Sumatidevi as the wife of Narasimhagupta and mother of Kumaragupta III. Fleet read the name as Mahalaksmidevi[3] and Hoernle as 'Srimatidevi'.[4] But in No.51 the reading is clearly 'Mitradevi'.[5] Mitra is one of the several names of the solar deity.

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1. See the appendix No.
2. M.W., p.1100, col.1.
3. I.A., XIX, p.225.
4. J.A.S.B., Vol. LVIII (1889), p.89.
5. The reading is checked by me. The name 'Mitradevi' is clear in No.51, Plate VIII(e) of the seal of Kumaragupta III, in M.A.S.I.,No.66 (see the plates attached in the last portion of the Journal).

CHAPTER II

NAMES OF FEUDATORY KINGS AND HIGH OFFICERS

Names of feudatory kings

Firstly, we analyse the names of subordinate rulers or feudatory kings dividing them into the following categories :

Names based on Ganapati

1. Ganapati (No.1,L.13) : One of the kings said to have been uprooted by Samudragupta in northern India. The name violates the laws laid down by the Grhyasutras which prohibit the giving of the names of deities to human-beings directly.[1]
2. Ganapatinaga (No.1,L.21) : Another king of Aryyavartta defeated by Samudragupta. The first part is Ganapati and the second is 'naga', which signifies that the king belonged to the Naga dynasty. He probably ruled at Mathura.[2]

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1. Cf. Manava Grhyasutra,I.18.1-2, p.238.

यस्यं नामधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम् ।

2. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.141.

Names based on Moon

1. Candravarmma (No.1,L.21) : One of the kings of Aryyavartta defeated by Samudragupta. The first part is Candra and the second is 'Varmma' which is a form for the original term 'varman', a suffix generally used for ksatriyas. He may be identified with the king of that name whose record has been found at Susunia in Bankura district, Bengal.[1]
2. Surasmicandra (No.18,L.4) : He is described as the ruler of the country that lies between the rivers Kalindi and Narmada and governing with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world and enjoying the title of a maharaja during the reign of Bhadhagupta.

   Literally it means 'a moon possessed of good rays'.

Names based on Naga

1. Nagadatta (No.1,L.21) : One of the kings of Aryyavartta defeated by Samudragupta. The first part is Naga which refers most likely to 'a serpent-demon' and the second is 'datta' meaning given. Thus the full name means one given by 'Naga'.
2. Nagasena (No.I,L.13,21) : The first part of the name is Naga and the second is sena. Nagasena of the L.13 and L.21 looks to be the same.[2] According to L.21 he was one of the

1. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.141.
2. Cf. No.1, L.13 : बाहु - वीर्य्य - प्रसरैकेन येन [illegible]

kings of Aryyavartta uprooted by Samudragupta. In L.13 he is mentioned as having been defeated by Samudragupta by the valour of his arms. He seems to have been an important king.[1]

Names based on Siva

1. Rudradatta (No.53,L.3) : He is given the designation of a maharaja and is mentioned as a padadasa (slave of the feet) of Vainyagupta. The first part literally meaning roaring, dreadful or terrible[2] denotes Siva and the second 'given' the full name meaning 'given by Lord Siva'.

2. Rudradeva (No.1,L.21) : He is described as one of the kings of Aryyavarta defeated by Samudragupta. The first part of the name is Rudra which denotes Lord Siva and the second is 'deva' which means 'god'. It is another name based on Lord Siva.

3. Ugrasena (No.1,L.20) : He is mentioned as a ruler of Palakka during the reign of Samudragupta. Ugra meaning 'powerful, mighty or terrible' is another name of Rudra or Siva.[3] Sena is merely a surname. Or we can give another explanation of the whole 'Ugra sena asya', i.e. 'having mighty army'.

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1. No.1,L.21 : रुद्रदेव-पालित-नागसेन-गणपति-नागसेना-अच्युतनन्दि-बलवर्म्मादयोनेकाऽऽर्य्यावर्त्तराज-प्रसभोद्धरणोद्धतप्रभावस्य [illegible] : --.

   Cf. infra p. , see Acyutanandin, f.n.

2. M.W., p.883, col.1.

3. M.W., p.172, col.2. Sircar,M.N., 'Saivism', vide Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, 1926-28, pp.316-351.

Names based on Sun

We find only one such name which is as given below :-

1. Prabhakara (No.32, L.8) : He is described as a king (bhumipati) and a destroyer of the enemies of the Gupta dynasty. He was the overlord of Dattabhata. He is not known from any other source. The name of his capital or territory is not mentioned. Probably he was the contemporary local chief of Dasapura and a feudatory ally of the Guptas in their struggle against the Hunas.[1] Dattabhata does not include in the inscription the genealogy of his master. It is possible that Prabhakara was a self-made man who did not have a distinguished ancestor worthy of record. He may have been appointed ruler of Dasapura by the paramount power, after the extinction of the Varman dynasty.[2] That Prabhakara was not a scion of the Varman dynasty would also appear from his name which, unlike the names of the known members of that dynasty, does not end in varman.[3] The name violates the laws of Grhyasutras

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.408 :

गुप्तान्वमारि-द्रुम-धूमकेतु । प्रभाकरो भूमिपतिर्य्यमेनम् ।
स्वेषामलानां बलदेववीर्य्यं गुणादिरागादधिपं चकार ॥

We know that the Hunas were threatening to invade the western portion of the Gupta Empire about this time.

2. To which Naravarman of the Mandasor inscription of M.E.461, Visvavarman of the Gangdhar inscription of M.E.480 and Bandhuvarman of the Mandasor inscription of M.E.493 belonged. See E.I.XII, p.315ff, C.I.I., III, No.17 and 18.
3. E.I.Vol.27, pp.14-15.

which forbid the direct imposition of the names of deities to human-beings.

Names based on Vishnu

1. Acyutanandi (No.1,L.21) : He is included in the list of kings of Aryyavartta forcefully uprooted by Samudragupta. Acyuta is the name of Vishnu or Krsna,[1] and Nandi is the name of an attendant of Siva and also the name of Siva's bull.[2] So literally the expression would mean 'one who is a servant of god Vishnu'.

Acyutanandi seems to have been a ruler of Ahicchatra (near Bareilly district).[3] The Puranas give names ending in 'Nandin in the list of Naga kings and coins bearing 'Acyuta' have been found from Ahicchatra.[4] Therefore, it is possible that Ahicchatra was a seat of government of Acyutanandi.

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1. M.W., p.9, col.2.

2. Ibid, p.827, col.1-2.

3. Cf. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967),pp.139-40; Acyutanandin seems to be the sarma as Acyuta mentioned in L.13 of the inscription. Some scholars opine that Acyuta, Nagasena and others attacked the newly anointed king but were uprooted by Samudragupta (J.I.H., Suppl.,pp.24,27,37). We cannot give any definite reason for the repetition of these names but it may be said that Samudragupta exterminated them again in his Aryyavartta campaign.

4. Cf.Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967),p.36 : 'The Nagas of Padmavati give a prominent position to Siva's emblem Trisula and vehicle Nandi,on their coins.
Ibid, pp.39-40 : A king named Acyuta had risen to power in Ahicchatra (Rohilkhand) by the middle of 4th century A.D. From his coinage it is clear that he was a Naga ruler, most probably a scion of a collateral branch of Mathura family. He offered stubborn resistance to Samudragupta but it proved of no avail. His kingdom was incorporated in the Gupta empire.

2. Dhanyavisnu (No.18,L.8) : He was the grandson of maharaja Indravisnu and younger brother of maharaja Matrvisnu. We also find his name in line 5 of the Eran Stone Boar Inscription of the time of Toramana (c.500-515 A.D.).[1] It signifies the tendency of naming persons by using adjectives before the names of deities. Dhanya means 'bringing or bestowing wealth or opulent'.[2]

3. Harivisnu (No.18,L.6) : He was the great-grandfather of maharaja Matrvisnu. Hari here specifies the Krsna form of Visnu.[3]

4. Indravisnu (No.18,L.5) : He has been mentioned as a maharaja, great grandfather of Matrvisnu; a brahmana devoted to studies and celebrating sacrifices and belonging to Maitrayaniya (sakha). The combination of the names of two deities Indra and Visnu makes his name.

5. Matrvisnu (No.18,L.7) : He was the installer of the stone pillar at Eran, a maharaja, grandson of maharaja Indravisnu. We also find his name in the Eran Stone Boar Inscription of the time of Toramana (c.500-515 A.D.).[4] Matri stands for one of the seven Matrka goddesses,[5] and may refer to the worship of the Matri cult. The name is formed by the similar process of the combination of the names of two deities, Matri and Visnu.

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1. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965),p.421.
2. M.W., p.509, col.1.
3. Ibid, p.1289,col.3. Hari is name of Visnu-Krsna (in this sense thought by some to be derived from hri to take away or remove evil or sin).
4. Sircar,D.C.,Select Inscriptions (ed.1965),p.421.
5. M.W.,p.807, col.1.

6. Varunavismu (No.18,L.5) : He was the grandfather of maharaja Matrvismu. The name is based on the combination of the names of two deities Varuna and Visnu. Varuna is the sea-god of Vedic pantheon.

7. Visnudasa (No.3,L.2) : Maharaja Visnudasa belonged to the Sanakanika family. Visnu signifies Lord Visnu and dasa means 'a servant'. Thus the whole literally means 'a servant or devotees of Lord Visnu'.

8. Visnugoppa (No.1,L.19) : A ruler of Kanci. According to Diskalkar Visnugopa is undoubtedly identical with an early Pallava king of that name.[1]

It can be a synonym of Lord Krsna who was an incarnation of Visnu but was born as the son of Nanda who was a gopa.

Now we study the names grouping them according to their suffixes.

Names ending in 'datta'

1. Parnadatta (No.14,L.8,L.9) : He is mentioned as a ruler of Surastra appointed by Skandagupta. He was the father of governor Cakrapalita. Sankalia considers it to be an Iranian name.[2] But it can very well be an Indian name. Parna means

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1. Diskalkar,D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions,Vol.I, Part II, p.33; cf.Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed. 1967), p.145.

2. Sankalia,H.D.,Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.105.
"His name yields no sensible meaning,and seems to be "an Indianization of an Iranian name Farna-data,which represents an old Iranian name Xvarenodata,meaning 'created by Majesty'; a name of the same type as Ahura-data."

a leaf as well as the name of a tree called Palasa. We find 'Parnadatta' to be the name of a man in the Maitrayani Samhita.[1] Literally it means given by leaves and can signify 'a person born by the worship of the Parna (Palasa) tree'.

2. Svamidatta[2] (No.1,L.19) : He is mentioned as one of the Daksinapath kings. He was a ruler of Kottura and was defeated by Samudragupta.

Literally the name means 'given by God', the first part being Svamin and the second 'datta'.

Names ending in 'Giri'

1. Mahendragiri[3 1] (No.1,L.19) : The first part is Mahendra, i.e., the great Indra and the second is 'giri', which means a mountain. It is also an honorific name given to one of the ten orders of the Das-nami Gosains (founded by ten pupils of Samkaracarya; the word giri is added to the name of each member).[4 2] We also find it used with the names of ascetics.

He was one of the Daksinapatha kings defeated by Samudragupta.

Names ending in Mitra

Pusyamitra (No.13,L.11) : The name is mentioned in plural.[5] It is said that they who had developed great power and wealth were

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1. M.W., p.606, col.2; cf. Lith.Sparne; H.Germ.Varn, Farn; Angl. Sax Fearn, Eng. Fern; Skt. Parna (leaf); Fowler, H.W., The Concise Oxford Dictionary, p.437.
2. See the appendix
3. See the appendix
4. M.W., p.355, col.2.
5. No.13,L.11:

defeated by king Skandagupta.

The other readings suggested by scholars are Puspamitra and Yudhyamitra. But a careful scrutiny will support the reading Pusyamitra as more likely. In the passages quoted by Buhler from the Prakrit Gathas, ascribed to Merutunga, Dharmasagara and Jayavijayagani[1] the name of the early king Pusyamitra, the contemporary of Patanjali appears as Pusamitta and thus supports the reading Pusyamitra.

Pusyamitra in plural may denote the followers of king Pusyamitra. Pusyamitra is the name of a tribe in Central India is also mentioned in the Puranas.

Name endings in Raja

1. Devaraja (No.5,L.7) : Fleet fills up the lacuna[2] and takes Devaraja to be the name of an officer of Candragupta II.[3] But D.C. Sircar takes it as another name of Candragupta II.[4] The view of Sircar is more plausible and has been generally accepted by scholars.[5] It may however be noted that in Vakataka grants Devagupta is mentioned as another name of Candragupta II.[6]

Literally the name means 'a king of gods' which is also another name of Indra.

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1. I.A., Vol.11, p.362 f.

2. "प्रियतामामात्यो भवत्येतस्य"
3. C.I.I.,III,p.32.
4. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.281, f.n.8.
5. Cf. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967),pp.165-66.
6. Mookerjee, R.K., The Gupta Empire, pp.44-45.

2. Goparaja (No.19, LL.3,5) : A feudatory chief who is said to have accompanied the mighty king glorious Bhanugupta and fought a famous battle. Goparaja died in the battle and his wife burnt herself on to the funeral pyre along with him.

The inscription informs us that he was the son of a king named Madhava, and was the daughter's son of the Sarabha king, belonging to the lineage of Laksa of which he is described as an ornament.

Literally the name means 'a king of the Gopas', i.e., milkmen or Ahiras. 'Raja' is a suffix signifying 'the king'. 'A' of Raja has been shortened.

3. Mantaraja (No.1,L.19) : King of Kurala, one of the rulers of Daksinapatha defeated by Samudragupta.

In this name the first part is Manta and the second is Raja. The meaning of the first part is not clear. It is clearly not a Sanskrit word. As Woolner has pointed out words with celebrals are often non-aryan or influenced by non-aryan elements.[1] Another possibility is that these names show dialectic elements. Even now-a-days we give names like Mantu, Bantu, etc. to little children. If we want to trace a Sanskritic origin, we can reach as far as 'mantra' (meaning 'a hymn or magical formula' which with the influence of Prakrita may change into 'manta', or we may derive it from the root 'mant' to act as intermediator.[2]

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1. Woolner, A.C., 'Prakritic and non-Aryan strata in the vocabulary of Sanskrit', vide Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, 1926-28, p.70.

2. M.W., p.775, col.2.

4. Nilaraja (No.1, LL.19-20) : A king of Avamukta, one of the Daksinapatha kings defeated by Samudragupta. The first part of the name is Nila and the second is raja.

It is a name based on colour. Nila means 'of dark colour' especially blue or green or black.[1]

5. Sarabharaja (No.19,L.4) : He was the maternal grandfather of Goparaja, the feudatory chief of king Bhanugupta.

Sarabha is the name of a people and also refers to a fabulous animal supposed to have eight legs and inhabiting the snowy mountains; it is represented as stronger that the lion and the elephant.[2] The name may literally mean 'a king of the Sarabha people. It may also be treated as a name based on an animal.

6. Vyaghraraja (No.1,L.19) : He was the ruler of Mahakantara and was one of the kings of Daksinapatha defeated by Samudragupta. He has been identified with the Vakataka feudatory prince Vyaghra whose inscriptions have been found at Nach-na-ki-talai and Ganj in Central India, who is also said to have been the ruler of the Ucchakalpa dynasty in Bundelkhand.[3] But an objection to this view is that it must be a ruler in Daksinapatha as mentioned in our inscription and has accordingly been identified with the ruler of Maha-vane,a synonym of

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1. M.W.,p.566, col.1.

2. Ibid, p.1057,col.2 : अभिधानचिन्तामणिकोश, श्लो. १२८५
शरभः कुञ्जराराति रुत्पादकोऽष्टपादपि ।

3. I.H.Q., Vol.I, p.251; Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.146.

Maha-kantara, also called Jaypore forest in Orissa.[1]

The name is based on the animal Vyaghra, or tiger implying that in Mahakantara his subordinate chiefs were like tigers and he was their ruler. The name is a good selection in the context of the fact that the region of Mahakantara is known to have been infested with tigers.

7. .....raja (No.19,L.3) : The first part of the name has been damaged. He was a king and was the grandfather of Goparaja, the feudatory chief of king Bhanugupta. He was the founder of the Laksa lineage.

Names ending in Varman,(Varmma

1. Balavarmma (No.1,L.21) : One of the kings of Aryyavartta said to have been forcefully uprooted by Samudragupta. The first part of the name is Bala and the second Varmma. Bala means strength. Varmma is the short form of varman which means 'to protect' and is a suffix used for Ksatriyas. The name may literally mean 'one who protects with his power'.

It is a name based on quality.

2. Bandhuvarmma (No.17,L.15,L.16) : Bandhuvarman was the son of Visvavarman. He was probably a feudatory chief, ruling at Dasapura, Mandasor in Western Malwa,[2] in the time of Kumaragupta I. He has been mentioned as a king (nrpa) governing the city of Dasapura and it was under his rulership that the Sun-temple was caused to be built by the guild of silk-cloth

1. J.A.H.R.S., I, p.228.
2. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.174.

weavers at Mandasor (Dasapura). The relevant lines in the inscription lay a stress on his name Bandhu. He is described as possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (his) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (his) subjects; the remover of the afflictions of (his) connections; pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of (his) proud enemies."[1] Varman is a ksatriya suffix meaning 'the protector', the entire expression may literally be translated as the protector of his relatives.

3. Bhimavarman (No.26,L.1) : He is mentioned as a maharaja and seems to have been a feudatory king of Skkndagupta. Bhima was the name of one of the five Pandavas (the second son of Pandu) mentioned in the Mahabharata. Literally the name may mean 'one who protects by awfulness'. Bhima is also the name of Rudra-Siva one of the eight forms of Siva.[2] Thus it may be a name based on god Siva.

4. Hastivarmma (No.1,L.2) : A king of Vengi in the time of Samudragupta and included in the list of the Daksinapatha kings defeated by the latter. He is identical with the king of the Salankayana dynasty whose record has been found at Peddavegi.[3]

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1. No.17,LL.14-15 : तस्यात्मजः स्थैर्य - नयोपपन्नो बन्धुप्रियो बन्धुरिव प्रजानां । बंधवर्त्ति-हर्ता नृप-बन्धुवर्म्मा द्वि (द्) दृप्तपक्ष-क्षपणैक-दक्षः ॥

2. M.W., p.758, col.1.

3. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.145.

It is a name based on animal. The name Hastin (elephant) denotes fatness and valour.

5. <u>Visvavarmma</u> (No.17,L.14) : A ruler (Gopta) in the time of Kumaragupta I. Literally the name may mean 'a protector of the world'. There is a second possibility that it is a name based on the deity Visnu, because Visva meaning all-pervading or all-containing, omnipresent[1] is also the name of Visnu-Krsna.

<u>One-word names</u>

1. <u>Acyuta</u> (No.1,L.13) : It is the same as Acyutanandin mentioned in line 21.[2] It is the abbreviated form of that fuller name. Acyuta is the name of Visnu or Krsna.[3]
2. <u>Chagalaga</u> (No.3,L.2) : A maharaja, grandfather of a maharaja whose name in line 2 is illegible and who belonged to the Sanakanika tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Candragupta II. We find the word Chagala literally meaning 'a he-goat'[4] in the Unadi-sutras of Panini which refers to a

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1. M.W., p.992, col.2.
2. Majumdar,R.C., <u>The Vakataka-Gupta Age</u> (ed.1967), p.139.
3. Supra, p.
4. अभिधानचिन्तामणिकोश, श्लो. १२७५, अजः स्यात् छगलः छागस्तभो..।

muni.[1] It seems to be a non-Aryan word. The words Chagala, Chagalaka or Chagalaga mean the same.[2]

3. Damana (No.1,L.19) : A ruler of Erandapalla who was one of the Daksinapatha kings conquered by Samudragupta. We get this name in the Mahabharata and the Puranas. Literally the word daman means 'taming, subduing, overpowering';[3] hence the name may mean 'one who subdues or overpowers others'.

4. Dhananjaya (No.1,L.20) : A ruler of Kusthalapura and one of the Daksinapatha kings defeated by Samudragupta. The name has some connection with the Epic. In the Mahabharata Dhananjaya is one of the epithets of Arjuna.

Literally it would mean, 'one who wins a prize or booty or acquires wealth'.

5. Kubera (No.1,L.20) : Ruler of Devarastra mentioned in the list of the kings of Daksinapatha who were defeated by Samudragupta. According to Bhandarkar Kubera was perhaps the father of Kuber-naga of the Naga family, who was a queen of Candragupta II.[4] In this case the name of Kubera, the god of wealth,

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1. Vasu,S.C., The Siddhanta Kaumudi of Bhattoji Diksita (ed.1962), Vol.I, p.845.

Cf. राधारमण पाण्डेय, अर्थप्रकाशिका, पाणिनि, ४/१/१५५।

2. M.W., p.404, col.1.

3. Ibid, p.469, col.3.

4. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol.I, part II, p.34.

has been given directly which is against the rules prescribed by the Grhyasutras.[1]

6. Madhava (No.19,L.3) : Father of Goparaja, the feudatory of Bhanugupta; born of Laksa lineage. It is the name of Lord Krsna given to this king which violates the rules of Dharmasutras.

7. Matila (No.1,L.21) : One of the kings of Aryyavartta defeated by Samudragupta. According to Panini,[2] a polysyllabic name was sometime shortened in order to express affection. Thus in the case of names ending in 'ila' we find Devila being derived from Devadatta; Yajnila from Yajnadatta; Makhila from Makhdeva; Agila from Agnidatta; Satila from Svatidatta; Nagila from Nagadatta, and Yasila,Yakhila from Yaksadatta.[3] Similarly Matila can be formed from Matideva or Matidatta.

Names of Ministers

1. Amrakarddava (No.5, L.5) : Hailing from Sukuli-desa who loyally served Candragupta II by fighting and winning many battles for him.

The first part of the name is based on the mango tree. The second part is karddava.[4] It is the name of some Nagas

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1. Supra, p. note
2. Panini, V.3.78; V.3.79; V.3.80.
3. Agrawala,V.S., India as known to Panini, p.191.

4. देवप्रकाश पात जल, अष्टाध्यायी प्रकाशिका, पृ. ३७१-७२, पाणिनि ६/४/१४७ ।

or serpent-demons thought to be inhabitants of the lower regions.[1] Kadru is the name of the mother of serpents. Kadrava by metathesis Karddava literally means 'born of Kadru'. In south, among aboriginal people and lower castes the practice of matriarchal names is well known. The whole term 'Amrakarddava' is inexplicable as one word. Amra seems to be his personal name and Karddava his family title.

2. Harisena (No.1, L.32): He is given several titles indicating offices held – a khadyatapakika, a minister for peace and war, a kumaramatya and a mahadandanayaka of Samudragupta. He is also the composer of this inscription which has been termed as a kavya.[2]

Hari is Visnu or Krsna and sena is Prakritised form of Sanskrit sena. The name can be explained in two ways. Firstly that Hari is his personal name and sena or sena his surname. Or we may also explain, 'one with Hari as his army'. The Mahabharata informs us that there was big army on the side of the Kauravas and there was only Hari, i.e., Lord Krsna on the side of the Pandavas. The Pandavas could get Hari on their side by winning over the Kauravas a condition laid down by Lord Krsna.

3. Virasena (No.6, L.4) : Hailing from Pataliputra he was Candragupta II's minister for peace and war by hereditary right[3] and accompanied the king on his far-reaching military

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1. M.W., p.270, col.2.
2. No.I, LL.31-32.
3. अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिव्य .....।

expeditions. The first part is Vira which means 'brave' and the second is 'sena', the whole literally meaning 'one with a brave army'. Panini refers to Senanta names in his Astadhyayi.[1] We find many such names as Varisena, Ratisena, Bhimasena and Ugrasena.[2]

Names of Commanders

1. Dattabhata (No.32,L.7) : A son of Vayuraksita, himself also a general of the armies of king Prabhakara (appointed by him). We find here the suffix 'datta' used as the first part of the name and the second part is 'bhata' which means a 'warrior'.
2. Dhruvabhuti (No.1,L.32) : He was a mahadandanayaka and is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. The first part is 'dhruva' which means 'firm' or definite and the second part is 'bhuti' which means 'wealth or prosperity', a suffix generally used for Vaisyas. Literally it would mean whose prosperity is enduring.
3. Gopasvamin (No.41,L.11; No.21,L.15) : In No.41, he has been mentioned as aksapataladhikrta, mahapilupati and mahabaladhikrta. The Gaya spurious copper plate inscription of Samudragupta (No.21) was written by the order of Dyuta-gopasvamin, aksapataladhkrta of another village. Literally Gopasvamin means 'Lord of herdsmen' which is a popular expression for Lord Krsna.

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1. IV.1.152 :
   Also see VIII,3.99.
2. Agrawala,V.S., India as known to Panini, p.186.

4. Harisena (No.1, L.32) : He has been mentioned as a mahadandanayaka in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. His name has already been explained among the names of ministers.

5. Tilabhattaka[1] (No.1, L.33) : He was a mahadandanayaka and is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.

We find personal names with their first part as 'Tilaka', but never as 'Tila'.[2] In the present case also the first part of the name was probably 'Tilaka' and the second was bhatta. Later on by the process of metathesis the name may have become 'Tilabhattaka'.

Tilaka is a mark on the forehead (made with coloured earths, sandal-wood, or unguents, either as an ornament or a sectarial distinction),[3] the second part 'bhatta' is a surname.

6. Vayuraksita[4] (No.32, L.5) : He was a commander of the army (senapati). The first part of the name is Vayu standing for 'the god of the wind',[5] and the second part is 'raksita' which means 'protected'. The full name literally means 'protected by the god of the wind'.

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1. Infra, see 'Tilabhattaka' among the names of writers and engravers.
2. M.W., p.448, col.12.
3. Ibid, col.2.
4. No.32, L.5 : सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना वाय्वादिना रक्षित-पश्चिमेन।
5. M.W., 942, col.2.

Names of Governors

1. Brahmadatta (No.33,L.2) : An Uparika-maharaja ruling over the Pundravardhana-bhukti in the reign of Budhagupta. The name would literally mean, 'given by (the grace of) God'.

2. Cakrapalita (No.14,L.11,L.27) : Governor of Surastra in the reign of Skandagupta who restored the break in the Sudarsana lake and renewed the embankment.

It has been shown by Charpentier that he was an Iranian.[1] We find many Iranians adopting names after Hindu gods.[2] Cakrapalita means 'one protected by the disc (bearer)', i.e., a devotee of Visnu, a name adopted after this person became a Vaisnava (Hindu).[3]

3. Chiratadatta (No.34,L.2,L.3) : The first part Chirata can be a Prakritization of the word Kirata which is the name of Siva (the god Siva in the form of a wild mountaineer or Kirata as opposed to Arjuna).[4] Hence the complete expression would literally mean 'begotten by (the grace of) Kirata'.

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1. See J.Charpentier, J.R.A.S., 1928, pp.904-5.

2. Chandra, Moti, Nagari-Pracarini Patrika, Vikrama Samvat, 2000, p.184.

3. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.105.

4. M.W., p.283, col.3 ; Bharavi wrote a Mahakavya named Kiratarjuniyam based on this theme.
Sircar, D.C., I.H.Q., XIX, p.13. Ciratadatta = Sanskrit Kiratadatta, Kirata in the name seems to indicate the Kiratamurti of Siva and to suggest that the Kiratarjuna episode was popular in Bengal as early as the fifth century A.D.; also see Vararuci's Prakritaprakasa, II.33;
Sircar, D.C., Grammar of the Prakrit Language, p.20.

4. Jayadatta (No.33,L.3) : It is the name of an Uparika-maharaja in the reign of Budhagupta. Jaya is the name of Arjuna (son of Pandu).[1] The second part 'datta' is a name-ending suffix. It may thus be a name based on the Epic. It may also be noted that Jayadatta was the name of a Bodhisattva Buddha.[2]

5. Vijayasena (No.53,L.16) : He was a dutaka, mahapratihara, a mahapilupati, an uparika of five adhikaranas, an uparika over a pati, an uparika over a purapala, a maharaja and Sri mahasamanta during the reign of Vainyagupta. The name can literally mean 'one whose army always wins'.

Names of Kumaramatyas[3]

1. Kulavrddhi (No.45,L.1) : One of the Kumaramatyas in the time of Kumaragupta I. This is a very good name which literally means 'one who increases the family'. A son is always considered to continue the genealogical sequence and hence to increase the family.

2. Prthivisena[4] (No.40,L.7) : The son of Sikharasvamin, the minister, and the kumaramatya mahabaladhikrta of Chadragupta II.

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1. Mahabharata, IV.5.35.
2. M.W., pp. 412-13.
3. Kumaramatya is a technical official title and literally means 'counsellor of the prince';
   Cf. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967),pp.281-82.
4. No.45,L.1 : पृथिवीषेणो महाराजाधिराज - श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यो(s)नन्तरं च महाबलाधिकृत: ।

He himself was the minister, the Kumaramatya and mahabaladhikrta of Kumaragupta I. His grandfather was Visnupalitabhatta, the son of Kurmaravyabhatta of the gotras Asva and Vajin and who was a teacher of Chhandoga (Veda).

3. Revajjasvamin (No.53, L.17) : A Kumaramatya in the time of Vainyagupta. The first part is Revajja and the second svamin. Revajja can be derived from Revat which means rich or prosperous.[1] Thus the name would literally mean 'master of the rich'.

4. Sikharasvamin (No.40, L.6) : He was the minister and the Kumaramatya of maharajadhiraja, illustrious Candragupta II and was the son of Visnupalitabhatta, the son of Kuramaravyabhatta, a teacher of the Chhandoga (Veda).

Sikhara means a peak or summit of a mountain, hence the whole may literally mean 'one who is master of sikhara'. The name seems to represent Lord Siva due to Siva's connection with the Himalayas.

5. Vetravarman (No.34,L.4; No.35,LL.3-4) : A kumaramatya in the time of Kumaragupta I. Vetra means the rod or mace of an officer, or staff of a door-keeper.[2] So the whole will literally mean 'one who protects by means of a vetra'.

Names of Ayuktakas (commissioners or district collectors) :

1. Acyutadasa (No.44, L.1) : Acyuta is the name of Lord Visnu. So the present name would literally mean 'a dasa or servant of

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1. M.W., 888, col.1.

2. Ibid, p.1015, col.1.

Visnu'. According to the smrtis the suffix dasa should be used for Sudras.[1]

2. Bhamaha (No.53,L.17) : He has been mentioned as a bhogika in this inscription. It was also the name of the author of the Alamkara-sastra and of the Prakrita-manorama (commentary on the Prakrita-prakasa).[2] Literally the name may mean 'one possessing great light, splendour or brightness'.

3. Candragupta (No.41,L.12) : He is mentioned as a kumara.[3] This name has already been explained among the names of the Gupta kings.

4. Devabhattaraka (No.38,L.3) : He is mentioned to have ruled over the visaya of Kotivarsa. The name is based on the name of Lord Sun. Devabhattaraka seems to be a metathesis of Bhattarakadeva which means 'The god Bhattaraka'.

5. Sa(ga)ndaka (No.37, L.3) : D.C.Sircar takes the reading Gandaka which seems to be correct.[4] One scholar[5] equates Sandaka with Sandaka which means a 'bull' and says that the word Gandaka yields no sensible meaning. But Gandaka has been accepted as the most probable reading by scholars.[6] Gandaka

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1. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.103.

2. M.W., p.753, col.1.

3. No.41,L.12 : कुमार-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त : ।

4. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.337, Note 1.

5. E.I., XV, p.138.

6. Pandey, R.B., Historical and Literary Inscriptions, p.107, Note 4.

is the name of a river in the northern part of India.[1] So the name Gandaka based on the river Gandaki can be given to a person just as the name Ganga based on the river Ganges is given to a person. Gandaka is also the name of the Videhas living on the river Gandaki,[2] and also refers to a rhinoceros.[3] It is possibly that the present name like Vyaghra discussed elsewhere is based on the name of an animal.

6. Sarvvanaga (No.16,LL.4-5) : He was a visayapati in the reign of Skandagupta. Sarvva is the name of Lord Siva[4] and naga may be a surname indicating that the person belonged to the Naga tribe.

7. Svayambhu(u)deva (No.38,L.4) : He has been mentioned as a visayapati in the Damodarpur copper plate inscription of Bhanugupta. Literally the name would mean 'self-existent god', i.e., Brahma. As mentioned earlier the practice of giving names of gods to human-beings directly is against the tradition of the dharmasutras.

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1. M.W., p.344, col.2.

2. Ibid, p

3. Ibid, अभिधानचिन्तामणिकोश, एलो. १२८७: गण्डक - गैंडा ।।

4. M.W., p.1057, col.1.

CHAPTER III

NAMES OF LOCAL OFFICERS

Names of Sresthins (bankers)

1. Cha(cha)ndaka (No.47, L.12) : He is mentioned as the youngest son of a certain Hari-sresthin. Chandaka means 'charming'. It was the name of Gautama Buddha's charioteer.[1]
2. Dhrtipala (No.34, L.5; No.35, L.4) : It is the name of a nagara-sresthin (the guild-president of the town). The first part of the name is based on the virtue 'Dhrti' (which means firmness, resolution or command).[2] The second part is Pala which means a guard, protector or keeper.[3] The complete expression means 'an observer of firmness'.
3. Hari-sresthin (No.47, L.11) : He was the son of Kaivartti-sresthin. While he and his father are called sresthins, none of his sons is called a sresthin or banker by profession. Hari is the name of god Visnu or Krsna.

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1. M.W., p.405, col.1.
2. Ibid, p.519, col.2-3.
3. Ibid, p.622, col.3.

4. Kaivartti-sresthin (No.47,L.11) : Kaivarta is a fisherman (born of a prostitute by a ksatriya or of an Ayogava female by a Nisada father).[1] It may infer that his mother may be from the family of a fisherman and father belong to a Sresthin class.

5. Ribhupala (No.37,LL.3-4; L.5,L.14; No.38,L.4) : The orthographic change in the first letter is to be noted.[2] Ribhu here may mean property or wealth.[3] The whole may thus mean, 'a protector of property or wealth'. In No.37 Ribhupala has been mentioned as a nagara-sresthin. In No.38 he is also described as Aryya.

6. Sridatta (No.47,LL.11-22) : He was the eldest son of Hari-sresthin and the grandson of Kaivartti-sresthin. Sri is the goddess of wealth and datta means given. The whole expression will mean, 'given by the goddess of wealth'.

7. Vargga, Vargga-gramika (No.47,L.12,L.15) : He was the middle son of Hari-sresthin. In L.12 he is mentioned only as Vargga and in L.15 as Vargga-gramika. While his father is called sresthin he was not a sresthin or banker by profession. The word gramika affixed to Vargga's name suggests that he was the headman of a village which seems to be no other than Avadara.[4] Vargga literally means 'one who excludes or removes or averts'.

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1. M.W.,p.311, col.III ; cf. infra, p.

2. It is instead of .

3. M.W., p.226, col.2.

4. Ibid, p.923, col.3.

Names of Prathama Kulikas (chief artisans) :

1. Dhrtimitra (No.34,L.5; No.35,L.5) : It is a name based on virtue, the first part being Dhrti 'perseverance' and the second part 'mitra' friend, the whole meaning 'one who is friendly to perseverance', i.e., a man full of perseverance. Names ending in mitra[1] are very few in the Vedic literature but seem to have been very popular in the post-Paninian period. Later epigraphical records show an abundant use of mitra-ending names.[2]
2. Matidatta (No.38,L.5) : It is also a name based on virtue, the first part being 'mati' intellect and the second 'datta', the whole meaning, 'begotten by virtue of intellect'.
3. Varadatta (No.37,L.4) : The first part is Vara meaning boon and the second is datta, the whole meaning 'begotten by a boon'. Names ending in datta were very popular in the time of Patanjali and figure much in ancient Pali works.[3] It is a vaisya name-ending.

Names of Kulikas (artisans) :

We get only one name of a kulika which occurs four times in an inscription.

Bhima (No.44,LL.3,17,19,25) : It is a name based on the epic tradition. Bhima was the name of one of the five pandavas in the Mahabharata and literally means 'dreadful'.

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1. Panini, VI.2.165.
2. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p.185.
3. I.H.Q., vol.XIV, pp.242-43.

Names of Prathama Kayasthas (chief scribes) :

1. Sambapala (No.34,LL.5-6; No.35,L.5) : The first part of the name Samba is Prakritization of Samba which literally means 'attended by Amba and is the name of Lord Siva.[1] It has been the name of several authors and teachers.[2] Pala is a name-ending suffix having the least significance in the present case. Perhaps it has been added only to honour the Grhyasutra injunction of not giving names of deities directly to human-beings.[3]
2. Skandapala (No.38,L.5) : Skanda is the name of Karttikeya. Pala here is a mere name-ending suffix which has the same significance as in the case of Sambapala discussed above.
3. Viprapala (No.37,L.4) : The first part is vipra which means a brahmana and the second part is 'pala' which means 'protector', the whole thus meaning 'one who protects the brahmanas'. We do not get pala name-ending in the Paninian period. It is a ksatriya name-ending.

Names of Kayasthas (scribes)

1. Devadatta (No.44,L.3) : The first part of the name is deva and the second is datta, the whole meaning 'given by the gods'.

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1. M.W., p.1207
2. Ibid.
3. Manava Grhya, I.18.1-2.

This name was very popular in the time of Patanjali.[1]

2. Krsnadasa (No.44,LL.3-4) : The first part is based on the name of Lord Krsna and the second part is dasa which means a servant, the whole thus meaning 'one who is a servant to Lord Krsna'.

3. Laksmana (No.44,L.3) : It is a name based on the epic tradition. Laksmana was the younger brother of Rama and his name literally means 'endowed with auspicious signs or marks, lucky, fortunate.[2]

4. Naradatta (No.53,L.18) : The first part is Nara which here means the primeval man or eternal spirit pervading the universe,i.e.,Purusa (always associated with Narayana 'son of the primeval man'. Both nara and narayana are considered as gods or sages and accordingly called devau, rsi, tapasau.[3] The second part is datta,the whole meaning 'given by the eternal spirit pervading the universe'. He seems to have been a scribe belonging to the office of the minister for peace and war.[4]

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1. Mahabhasya, Vol.I, p.38.

लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य
संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति ।

2. M.W., p.892, col.2.

3. Ibid, pp.528-29.

4. लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहारि (धि)करण-कायस्य नरदत्तेन।

also see Select Inscriptions,(ed.1965),p.343, note 7 ; The relevant expression has been translated by Bhattacharya (I.H.Q.,VI,p.55,L.18, see translation) as written by karana-kayastha Naradatta. But this is incorrect. The intended reading was adhikarana which stands for 'office'.

5. Prabhucandra (No.44, L.3, L.25) : The first part is Prabhu which is one of the names of Lord Siva in the Mahabharata.[1] The second part is candra, the whole meaning 'a Moon (on the forehead) of Siva.[2]

6. Rudradasa (No.44, L.3, L.25) : The first part is Rudra which is another name of Lord Siva, and the second is dasa meaning 'a slave or servant'; the whole thus means 'one who is a servant to Lord Siva'.

7. (Vinayada)tta (No.44, L.3) : The first part is Vinaya and the second is datta. It is a name based on virtue. It may literally mean, 'born by virtue of modest speech or prayer'.

Names of the Prathama Pustapalas (chief record-keepers) :

1. Bhatanandin (No.38, L.11) : The first part is Bhata and the second is nandin.[3] Bhata here is the name of a serpent-demon. The whole means 'one who is an attendant of Bhata'. The other meaning of Bhata is scholar which is not applicable here.

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1. M.W., p.684, col.3.

2. Cf. सिद्धिः साध्ये सतामस्तु प्रसादात्तस्य धूर्जटेः ।
जाह्नवीफेनलेखेव यन्मूर्ध्नि शशिनः कला ॥
Pandita, Narayana, Hitopadesa, Prastavika, p.1, v.1.

3. M.W., p.745, col.1.

2. Divakaranandin (No.28, L.10) : The first part is 'Divakara' (day-maker), which is another name of god Sun.[1] Nandin here is a name-ending suffix literally meaning 'the happy one' and is the name of Visnu, Siva and an attendant of Siva. This name-ending was not known in the time of Panini. According to Sankalia such names were probably after the family-god,[2] which in the present case seems to have been Siva. It is possible that the first part of the name was connected with some deity and then the name of the family-deity was added as the name-ending suffix.

The word nandi is generally used to refer to 'an attendant of Siva' or the vahana 'nandi bull' of Siva. So the name Divakaranandin may literally mean 'an attendant of god Sun'.

3. Gopadatta (No.38, L.11) : The first part is Gopa and the second is datta. Gopa literally meaning cowherd is a synonym for Lord Krsna.[3] So it would mean 'given by Lord Krsna'. Names ending in datta are common in Buddhist literature.[4]

4. Nara(na)ndin (No.38, L.10) : The first part Nara here means the primeval man or eternal spirit pervading the universe;[5] the second part is nandin; the whole meaning 'one who is an attendant of Nara. Or another interpretation may be 'one who pleases the human-beings'.[6]

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1. M.W.,p.478, col.3.
2. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.115.
3. M.W., p.368, col.1.
4. Agrawala,V.S., India as known to Panini, p.187.
5. M.W., pp.528-29.
6. Nandin, - gladdening, rejoicing, M.W.,p.527, col.2 ; Nara here means simply a name of human-being.

Names of Pustapalas (record-keepers)

Names ending in Dasa

1. Arkkadasa (No.45,L.10) : Arkka is the name of god Sun[1] and dasa means servant; the whole meaning 'one who is a servant to god Sun'.
2. Haridasa (No.28,L.10) : The first part is Hari which means 'God'. It is a name given to many gods[2], but generally it is used for Visnu or Krsna. The second part is dasa. The whole literally means 'one who is an attendant to Hari'.
3. Patradasa (No.37,L.6,L.8) : Patra means a letter or document, and dasa means 'a servant'. Thus the whole may literally mean, 'one who is a servant to letters or documents' which is a very befitting name for a record-keeper.
4. Ramadasa (No.28,L.10) : The first part is Rama which refers to Lord Rama of the epic Ramayana and the second is dasa, the whole meaning 'a servant of Lord Rama'.

Names ending in Datta

1. Durgadatta (No.45,L.10) : Durga is the name of a goddess who is worshipped in navaratras, datta means 'given', the whole meaning 'given by goddess Durga'.
2. Risidatta[3] (No.34,L.10) ; Risidatta[4] (No.35,L.7) : We get this word in above two forms but the first form is more accurate though not fully correct due to orthographic differences. The

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1. M.W.,p.89,col.1.
2. Ibid, p.1289, col.2-3.
3. रिशिदत्त
4. रिसिदत्त

correct form should be 'Rsidatta'. The first part 'Rsi' means 'a sage' and 'datta' means given, the whole meaning 'given by (the grace of) a sage'.

3. Vibhudatta (No.34,L.10; No.35,L.7) : 'Vibhu' means all-pervading, and is applied to the names of several important gods, Brahma, Visnu, Siva, the Sun, Kubera and Indra.[1] 'Datta' means 'given'. The whole thus literally means 'given by the all-pervading, i.e., God'.

4. Visnudatta (No.37,L.9) : The first part is Visnu and the second datta, the whole thus literally meaning, 'given by god Visnu'.

Names ending in Nandi

1. Jayanandi (No.34,L.10; No.35,L.7) : Jaya is the name of Indra,[2] and nandi means 'an attendant', the whole meaning 'one who is an attendant of Lord Indra.

2. Sasinandi (No.28,L.10) : The first part is Sasi meaning moon and the second is nandi, the whole literally meaning 'one who is an attendant of the god Moon'.

3. Simhanandi (No.44,L.4;L.17) : The first part Simha standing for lion literally means 'a powerful one'. The second part is nandi, the whole thus meaning 'an attendant of the powerful one'.

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1. M.W., p.978, col.3.

2. Ibid, p.412, col.3.

4. Sthanunandi (No.37,L.10) : The Sanskrit form of the first part Sthanu is Sthanu. It is the name of Lord Siva (who is supposed to remain as motionless as the trunk of a tree during his austerities).[1] Nandi means 'an attendant'. The whole thus literally means 'one who is an attendant of Lord Siva'.[2]
5. Vijayanandi (No.37,L.9) : Vijaya is the name of Yama[3] and nandi means 'an attendant'. The whole thus means 'one who is an attendant of god Yama. This name has been very frequently used in ancient literature.[4]

Miscellaneous :

1. Dhrtivisnu (No.28,L.10) : The first part is Dhrti which means resolution or satisfaction. It is a name based on virtue. The second part Visnu gives no meaning to the first part; it has only been added probably as the family deity.[5]
2. Virocana (No.28,L.10) : It is the name of the god Sun, literally meaning 'illuminating'.[6] It is thus a case of the name of a god directly given to a man which is against the rules prescribed by smrtis.

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1. M.W., p.1262, col.3.
2. Cf. Names ending in nandi, E.I.,Vol.II, p.95.
3. M.W., p.960, col.1.
4. Ibid.
5. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in History, Culture and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.115.
6. M.W., p.983, col.2.

6. Yasodama (No.44,L.4,L.17) : Yasas means fame and dama means a garland,[1] the whole thus meaning 'a garland of fame'. It was used as a proper name quite frequently in ancient period.[2]

Names of the Vithi-mahattaras (vithi-elders) :

1. Ganda (No.44,L.4) : According to lexicographers Ganda means 'the chief; best, excellent'[3] and thus can signify a hero, the term is also used for the animal rhinoceros. So it can also be a case of a name based on the name of an animal.

The custom of deriving names from animals was unknown in the Vedic period.[4] But in Panini we find certain such references.[5]

2. Harisimha (No.44,L.5) : The first part is Hari which is the name alike of Visnu, Krsna, Moon, Vayu (the god of the Wind) and according to lexicographers of Siva.[6] The second part 'simha' has the purpose only of a surname and does not give any sensible meaning to the first part. In modern practice the word 'simha' is used as a surname of the ksatriya, thakur and rajput castes.

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1. M.W., p.475, col.1.
2. Ibid, pp.474-475.
3. Ibid, p.344, col.1.
4. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p.186.
5. Panini, II.1.56 : उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे,
   Cf. Panini, V.3.81. The names of species adopted as personal names, e.g. Vyaghraka, Simhaka.
6. M.W., p.1289, col.3.

4. Jyesthadama (No.44,LL.4-5) : The first part of the word is Jyestha literally meaning elder. Here it may stand for Jyestha Linga described in the Linga Purana.[1] The second part dama means 'a garland'.[2] The whole thus literally means, 'a garland of Jyestha Linga' and testifies to the popularity of the Jyestha Linga as an object of religious reverence.

4. Kumaradeva (No.44, L.4) : Kumara is the name of Karttikeya, the son of Lord Siva and deva means 'god', the whole thus meaning 'god Karttikeya'.

5. Prajapati (No.44,L.4) : Prajapati means 'lord of creatures'. It was originally applied to the supreme god and later on to Visnu, Siva and Brahma.[3] It is also a name against the rules prescribed in the Dharmasutras, the names of gods being prohibited to be directly given to human-beings.

6. Ramasarma (No.44,L.4) : The first part of the name is Rama based on the name of Lord Rama of the epic Ramayana. The second part is 'sarma' meaning 'comfort or happiness' and is often used at the end of the names of Brahmanas, they being the well-wishers of society.

7. Svamicandra (No.44,L.5) : The first part is svami meaning lord or master which according to lexicographers is the name

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1. M.W., p.426, col.3.
2. Ibid, p.475, col.1.
3. Ibid, p.658, col.2-3.

of Lord Siva.[1] The second part is candra, the whole thus literally meaning 'a Moon on (the forehead of) Lord (Siva).

8. Umayasas (No.44,L.4) : The first part is Uma and the second yasas. According to lexicographers Uma means a city, town or landing-place,[2] and yasas means fame. The whole thus literally means 'one who has fame in the city'.

Names of Mahattaras (village-headmen)

1. (De)vakirtti (No.29,L.4) : The first part is 'Deva' which means 'god' and the second part is kirtti, meaning 'fame'. The whole expression means 'having fame like that of the gods'.

2. Devasarmma (No.29,L.5) : The first part of the word 'Deva' means 'god' and the second part 'sarmma' is a name-ending suffix added to the name of brahmanas as prescribed by the Dharmasastras.

3. Gopala (No.29,L.5) : Literally meaning one who tends of protects cows, it is a synonym for Lord Krsna. In this case also the name is against the rules prescribed by the Dharmasastras.

4. Gosthaka (No.29,L.4) : It is an abbreviated name with the addition of suffix 'ka'. Literally it means 'belonging to an assembly or society.[3]

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1. M.W.,p.1284, col.1 ; cf. Buhler,G., E.I.,Vol.II,p.95. Names with 'svamin' as their first part are saivite names.
2. M.W., p.217, col.1.
3. Ibid, p.367, col.2.

5. Kala (No.29, L.4) : Kala means time and as destroying all things, it also signifies death or time of death (often personified and represented with the attributes of Yama). Kala personified is also a Devarsi in Indra's court, and is also the name of a son of Dhruva.[1]

6. Khasaka (No.29,L.5) : It is an abbreviated name with the addition of suffix 'ka' which according to Panini is used to denote :-

(i) Inferiority.[2]

(ii) Benediction.[3]

It is a non-Sanskritic word most probably a local or dialectic feature. Here 'ka' suffix may have been used in the sense of 'belonging to'. Khasa is the name of a people and of their country (in the north of India).[4] Khasaka can be the native of that country or a man belonging to that race (considered as a degraded ksatriya).[5]

7. Ksemadatta (No.29,L.4) : The first part is ksema which means ease, security or prosperity.[6] The second part is 'datta'. Thus the whole literally means 'given by prosperity'. It may

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1. M.W., p.278, col.1.
2. Kutsite, Panini, V.3.75, e.g. Puranaka, name of a servant.
3. Asisi, Panini, III.1.150, e.g. Jivaka (May you live !) Nandaka (May you prosper !)
4. M.W., p.338, col.3.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, p.332, col.3.

signify that the family became prosperous just before his birth. We find many names based on the word 'ksema' in ancient Sanskrit literature.[1]

8. Pingala (No.29,L.4) : It is a one-word name based on colour and means 'reddish-brown', 'yellow' or 'gold-coloured'.[2]

9. Rama (No.29,L.6) : It is another one-word name. Here the name of Lord Rama, the epic hero, hasbbeen given directly to a person against the rules of smrtis. We may suggest that in such cases either the second part was dropped or was not given at all by the parents.

10. Ramaka (No.29,L.5) : It is also an abbreviated name with the addition of the suffix 'ka'. In the Agni Purana it is the name of Rama Raghava.[3] It is formed from ram and means delighting, gratifying.[4] According to lexicographers a Ramaka is a Magadha who lives as a messenger.[5] But here it is a personal name based on the epic hero Lord Rama.

11. Sivanandi (No.45,LL.3-4) : The first part is Siva and the second nandi, the whole literally meaning 'an attendant of Lord Siva'.

12. Somapala (No.29,L.6) : Soma is nectar (the beverage of the gods called Amrta) and pala means 'protector'. Thus

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1. M.W., p.332, col.3; p.333, col.1.
2. Ibid, p.624, col.3.
3. Ibid, p.878, col.2.
4. Panini, VII, 3,34.
5. M.W., p.878, col.2.

the whole literally means 'protector or guardian of Amrta'. It is the name of several men in the Rajatarangini[1] and in plural it is the name of the Gandharvas (as keeping especial guard over Soma).[2]

13. Sribhadra (No.29, L.6) : Sri is the name of the goddess of wealth, the wife of Visnu and bhadra means 'blessed'. Thus the whole literally means 'blessed by the goddess of wealth'.

14. Sunkaka (No.29,L.4) : It is also an abbreviated name with the addition of suffix 'ka' to Sanku. The word should have been Sankuka instead of Sunkaka. The present form may be due to the mistake of the script-writer. The word Sunkaka is meaningless. Sanku is the name of Lord Siva. We have many names based on the word Sanku in literature. Sankuka was the name of a poet (author of the Bhuvanabhyudaya and son of Mayura),[3] and also of a writer on rhetoric.[4]

15. Varggapala (No.29,L.4) : The first part is vargga which means 'a separate division, group, company, family, party', the literally meaning being one who excludes or removes or averts.[5] The second part is pala meaning protector, thus the whole means 'protector of the division, group or party'.

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1. रामकुमार राय, राजतरङ्गिणी कोश, पृ. १५५.
2. M.W., p.1250, col.2.
3. रामकुमार राय, राजतरङ्गिणी कोश, पृ. १९३.
4. M.W., p.1047, col.2.
5. Ibid, p.923, col.3.

16. Visnubhadra (No.29, L.5) : The first part is Visnu and the second 'bhadra', the whole literally meaning 'blessed by (god) Visnu'.

17. .....Visnu (No.29,L.5) : The first part is lost. The second part is visnu. Visnu was probably the family-god of this person.

Names of Writers and Engravers

1. Dhruvasarman (No.10,L.9,L.13) : The lofty pillar (of Inscription No.10), 'firm and excellent', was caused to be made by Dhruvasarman.

The first part of the name is 'Dhruva' the Polar star. Panini deals at length with names derived from stars.[1] The second part of the name is 'sarman', which is a common surname for a brahmana.

2. Gopasvamin (No.21,L.15) : The Gaya spurious copper plate inscription of Samudragupta was written by the order of Dyuta Gopasvamin, the Aksapataladhikrta of another village.[2] His name has already been explained among the names of Commanders.

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1. Panini, IV.3.34; 36,37; VIII.3.100; India as Known to Panini, pp.189-90; I.H.Q.,vol.XIV, pp.224; 238-40.

2. No.21, L.15 :

अन्य ग्रामावपटलाधिकृत-दधूत-गोपस्वाऽऽदेश-

(लिखितोऽयम्) ।

3. Harisena[1] (No.1,L.32) : The draft of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta which is termed as a 'kavya' was composed by Harisena.[2]

4. Ravila (No.32, L.15) : Ravila has been mentioned as the writer of the draft of the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Malava Samvat 524 (467 A.D.).[3] It is a name ending in ila.[4] It seems to be an abbreviated form of Ravidatta just as Devila is derived from Devadatta.[5] Thus it is a name based on the deity Sun and originally signified one given by the Sun.

5. Sribhadra (No.29, L.17) : He engraved the Dhanaidaha Copper Plate Inscription of Kumaragupta I. Sribhadra is the name of a serpent-demon in the Buddhist literature. Sri is goddess Laksmi and bhadra means auspicious, happy, beautiful, lovely, good, or gracious. Thus literally Sribhadra means 'one who is (made) happy by goddess Laksmi.

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1. His name has already been explained among the names of ministers.

2. No.1, LL.31-32 : एतच्च काव्यमेषामेव भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीपपरिसर्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलित-मतेः खादयटपाकिकस्य महादण्डनायक- ध्रुवभूति-पुत्रस्य सन्धिविग्रहिक-कुमारामात्य-महादण्डनायक-हरिषेणस्य सर्व्व-भूत-हित-सुखायास्तु ॥

3. No.32, L.15 : रविलस्य कृति ।

4. Panini, V.3.79.

5. Agrawala, V.S., India as Known to Panini, p.191.

6. Stha(sta)mbhesvara-dasa (No.29, L.17) : He is the writer of the Dhanaidaha Copper Plate Inscription of Kumaragupta I. Stambhesvara is the name of Lord Siva[1] and dasa means 'a servant or devotee'. So the whole will literally mean 'one who is a devotee of Lord Siva'.

7. Tilabhattaka (No.1,L.33) : The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta was inscribed by the mahadandanayaka Tilabhattaka, who is described as meditating on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka.[2] The name has already been discussed among the names of Commanders.

8. Vatsabhatti (No.17,L.23) : The Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman (the Malava years 493 and 529) was composed by Vatsabhatti.[3] Vatsa is often used as a term of endearment (= my dear child).[4] Originally it was

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1. Stambha and Sthanu are just synonyms both meaning pillar and displaying qualities of stiffness, firmness or fixedness (M.W., pp. 1258 and 1262). Sthanvisvara is the name of a Linga of Siva (M.W., pp.1262-63) and hence Stambhesvara also represents the same.

2. No.1, L.33 : अनुष्ठितं च परमभट्टारक-पादानुध्यातेन महादण्डनायक-तिलभट्टकेन।

   Fleet,C.I.I.,III,p.17 translates it as 'And the accomplishment of the matter has been effected by the Mahadandanayaka Tilabhattaka, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka (i.e.,Candragupta II)'. It is all due to the fact that Fleet considered this inscription as posthumous (C.I.I., III,p.1). The word Paramabhattaraka here applies to Samudragupta as the pillar was set up during the life-time of the great emperor. See: Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka Gupta Age, p.137.

3. No.17,L.23 : पूर्व्वा चेयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना।

4. M.W., p.915, col.3.

used for a calf, then for the young of any animal and finally for any offspring or child. The child or the young of any animal being lovely, it became a term of endearment. The second part of the present name is bhatti which is used as a surname for a brahmana. Bhatti is formed from 'bhartri' meaning 'lord'.[1]

Miscellaneous

1. Jivanta (No.16, L.8) : He was the head of the guild of oil-men at Indrapura. Jivanta is a one-word name. Literally it means 'long-lived',[2] which shows the wish of the parents for the child to live long. It was the name of a man in the time of Panini.[3]

2. Mara-(visa) (No.56, LL.2-3) : He was the father of Damasvamini who raised a pillar at Rajaghat, Varanasi, in memory of her parents. The first part of the name is Mara which is the name of the god of love who in the Buddhist literature is described as the greatest enemy of the Buddha and his religion.[4] The second part of the name is not legible. If it is visa then the whole can literally mean 'one who is a poison for the god of love', i.e., a man of great self-control whom the arrows of Mara cannot effect.

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1. M.W., p.745, col.1,2.
2. Ibid, p.423, col.2.
3. Panini, IV.1.103 : Jaivantayana, Jaivanti, i.e., one who belongs to the family of Jivanta.

रामधारसिंह पाण्डेय, अर्थप्रकाशिका, पृ. ६२।

4. M.W., p.811, col.3.

3. Samghila (No.22, LL.5-6) : He was a soldier who has been mentioned as an 'Asvapati'. Samghila is a name ending in 'ila'.[1] It is an abbreviated form of the fuller name 'Samghadatta'.

In Sanci inscriptions we find several names with ila-endings, e.g., Agila (Agnidatta), Satila (Svatidatta), Nagila (Nagadatta), Yakhila (Yaksadatta), Samghila (Samghadatta).[2]

4. .....Visnu (No.29, L.7) : It is the name of some officer whose name appears to have the ending Visnu who may have been his family deity. The first part is not legible.

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1. Panini, V.3.79.
2. Agrawala, V.S., India as Known to Panini, p.191.

CHAPTER IV

NAMES OF HOUSEHOLDERS AND TRADERS

Names of householders

Names ending in Bhadra

1. Acyutabhadra (No.44, L.11) : Bhadra is the name of Lord Siva. Acyuta means 'firm' or 'solid'. Thus Acyutabhadra has the same meaning as that of Sthanu Siva.[1] The name is based on the quality of firmness of Lord Siva.

2. Ratibhadra (No.44, L.11) : Rati is often personified as one of the two wives of Kamadeva, together with Priti.[2] Bhadra is the name of Lord Siva. The name depicts the quality of kindness of Lord Siva who had put cupid, the husband of Rati, to ashes for disturbing his penance but who at the prayer of Rati made him alive to reside in all men but without a body. Ratibhadra can also literally mean -- a man skilful in rati,[3] i.e. sexual enjoyment.

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1. M.W., p.9, col.2.
2. Ibid, p.867, col.3.
3. Ibid, p.745, col.3.

Names ending in Bhava

1. Kumarabhava (No.44, L.5) : Kumara is another name of Skanda or Karttikeya[1] and Bhava is the name of Lord Siva. So it is also a name formed by combining the names of two deities. We find several names with Kumara as the first word.[2] Cf. Kumarasvamin, Kumaraharita, Kumarabhatta.
2. Rudrabhava (No.44, L.6) : It will mean born by (the grace of) Siva.

Names ending in Dasa

1. Kuladasa[3] (No.44, L.10) : Kula means 'race, family, community'. Dasa means servant. So the whole will literally mean 'a servant of the community or family'. Dharmasastras prescribe 'dasa' to be used by sudras at the end of their names but we do not find any strict adherence to this rule by the society. Dasa-ending names show devotion. We have such names as 'Kulabhusana' based on the word 'kula'.
2. Matrdasa (No.7, L.4) : Matr means 'mother' or the divine mothers (considered to be 7, 9 or 16 in number).[4] So it will literally mean 'a servant of the divine mothers'.
3. Narayanadasa[5] (No.44, L.10) : It is to be taken as 'Narayanadasa' literally meaning 'a servant of the god'.

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1. M.W., p.292, col.1-2.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p.294, col.2.
4. Ibid, p.807, col.1.
5. The reading is checked by me.

4. Sarvvadasa (No.44, L.12) : Sarvva is another name of Lord Siva.[1] So the whole will literally mean 'a servant of Lord Siva'.

Names ending in Datta

1. Bhavadatta (No.44, L.8) : Bhava is the name of Lord Siva and datta means 'given'. The whole literally means 'given by Lord Siva'. Such names show devotion towards a particular deity.

2. Jayadatta (No.44, L.11) : Jaya is the name of an attendant of Visnu,[2] and datta means 'given'. The whole will literally mean 'given by Jaya'.[3] It is a name based on the deity Visnu. Jayadatta was the name of a king in the Kathasaritsagara, of a minister in the Rajatarangini, of the author of the Asva-vaidyaka, of a Bodhisattva and of a son of Indra.[4] We find many personal names with the first part 'Jaya' in the Rajatarangini.[5]

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1. M.W., p.1057, col.1.
2. Ibid, p.412, col.3.
3. डा. विश्वबन्धु विभु अभिधान अनुशीलन
   Cf. जयनाथ-जयकांत, जयपति, जयपाल, जयरत्न,
   अभिधानचिन्तामणि पृ. ६५ श्लोक १७५: तनयस्तु जयन्तः स्याज्जय
4. M.W., p.413, col.1. पत्नी जयश्च सः ॥
5. रामकुमार राम, राजतरङ्गिणी - कोश, पृ. ६१-६४

3. Krsnadatta (No.44, L.8) : The first part Krsna refers to Lord Krsna and the second part datta means given, thus the whole means 'given by Lord Krsna'.

4. Simhahatta[1] (No.44, L.10) : It should be taken as Simhadatta. Simhadatta meaning 'lion-given'[2] was the name of an Asura; it has also been the name of a poet.[3]

It is a name based on the Zodiacal sign Leo or its lagna. A child born in such lagna may be named as Simhadatta.[4]

Names ending in Deva

1. Bhadradeva (No.30, L.5) : Bhadra means 'auspicious, gracious, kind' and deva means 'god'. So the whole will literally mean 'a gracious god'.

2. Dhanyadeva (No.30, L.5) : Dhanya also means 'fortunate, auspicious'.[5] Thus the complete name will literally mean 'an auspicious god'.

3. Harideva (No.30, L.5) : Hari is generally applied to Visnu-Krsna (in this sense thought by some to be derived from hri 'to take away or remove evil or sin).[6] Hence the whole expression will literally mean 'god Visnu or Krsna'.

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1. I.H.Q., XIX, p.21, f.n.8. The reading has been checked by me.
2. M.W., p.1213, col.1.
3. Ibid.
4. ह. वि. विद्याभूषण विभु - अभिधान अनुशीलन।
5. M.W., p.509, col.1.
6. Ibid, p.1289, col.3.

4. Nagadeva (No.33, L.10) : It will literally mean the serpent-god. In Sanskrit literature we find several authors with this name.[1]

5. Naradeva (No.44, L.11) : It would literally mean 'the god of men, i.e. a king'. It has also been the name of an author.[2]

6. Samghadeva (No.30, L.5) : It would literally mean 'the god of the multitude'.

7. Srideva (No.30, L.5) : Literally it means 'god of fortune or wealth, i.e. Visnu'.

Names ending in Kunda

The word 'kunda' here yields no meaning when combined with the first part. It has only been used as a surname.

1. Kamanakunda (No.44, L.11) : It should be taken as Kamana-kunda. The word Kamana means 'desire'. The second part 'kunda' seems to be a family surname. Literally it means a bowl, pitcher, a vessel for coals, or a round hole in the ground (for receiving and preserving water or fire.Cf.Agni-kunda).[3] It is a Dravidian word.[4] We have the names of

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1. M.W., p.533, col.1.
2. Ibid, p.529, col.1.
3. Ibid, p.289, col.3.
4. Burrow,T., The Sanskrit Language,'Non-Aryan Influence on Sanskrit', p.381.

   Tamila : kuntu 'hollow, pool, pit' ;
   Malyalam: kuntu 'hole, pit' ;
   Kannada : kunte, kunda, gundi 'hole, pit', etc.
   Cf. Mayrhofer, M., A Concise Etymological Dictionary, p.226.

mohallas ending in 'kunda', such as Durgakunda, Agastya-kunda, Pitarkunda, Laksmikunda in Varanasi.

As a surname, we find its use for the Nagara brahmanas.[1] We find many brahmana surnames popular in the kayasthas of Bengal.[2] 'Kunda' though originally a brahmana surname is now a non-brahmana surname in Bengal. Some of the people possessing the kunda surname are found to be oil-men by profession. Its corrupt form kundu is also found.

2. Piccakunda (No.44, L.12) : Picca means 'the heaven or next birth'.[3] It can also be the corrupt form of 'Pitri' which means the fathers, forefathers, ancestors, especially the Pitris or deceased ancestors.[4]

3. Pravarakunda (No.44, L.12) : Pravara means most excellent, chief, eminent, distinguished. We find several instances of the names of kings and places with the first part 'Pravara'.[5]

4. Sivakunda (No.44, L.6) : The name is based on the deity Siva.

Names ending in Mitra

1. Krsnamitra (No.44, L.6) : Literally it means 'Krsna's friend'.[6] It was also the name of the son of Ramasevaka

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1. Barua, K.L., The Early History of Kamarupa, p.95.
2. Bhandarkar, I.A., March 1932, p.52. Sircar, D.C., I.H.Q., XIX, pp.17-18.
3. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. ४९७।
4. M.W., p.626, col.2.
5. Ibid, p.690, col.3.
6. Ibid, p.807, col.2.

(grandson of Devidatta, author of the Manjusha Kuncika).[1]

2. Prabhamitra[2] (No.44, L.6) : Prabha is a Prakritised form of Prabhu meaning God. So the whole will mean 'God's friend'. Such names show devotion to the respective deities.

Names ending in Naga

1. Rajyanaga (No.44, L.10) : Rajya means 'kingly, princely or royal'; it also means 'kingdom, country or realm'.[3] Naga means serpent. So the whole literally means 'a royal naga'. Naga is prefixed as well as affixed with names. It shows a trend towards serpent worship. The use of Rajya as the first part of the name is also not without parallels.[4]
2. Viranaga (No.44, L.10): Vira means brave, eminent or chief. We can find many names with the first word 'Vira'. The whole literally means 'a brave or eminent serpent'.

Names ending in Natha

1. Bhavanatha (No.44, L.10) : The first part, 'Bhava' here means 'the world'.[5] The second part 'Natha' means 'a

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1. M.W., p.307, col.2.
2. The reading has been checked by me.
3. M.W., p.875, col.1.
4. Ibid, col. 1-2.
5. Ibid, p.749, col.1.

protector, owner, lord'[1] and is used both as the first part as well as the second part of the name as for example in the names Natha-malla, Natha-simha, Nathananda-muni, Nath'oka etc.[2] Bhavanatha would literally mean here 'the lord of the world', i.e. the god Bhavanatha was the name of an author.[3] The word Bhava is also the synonym of Lord Siva so it is to be counted as a Saivite name.

2. Srinatha (No.44, L.7) : Sri is the goddess of wealth, wife of Visnu. Srinatha would literally mean 'the Lord of Sri', i.e. the deity Visnu.

Names ending in Palita and Raksita

1. Sarppapalita (No.44, L.9) : The first part Sarppa means a serpent and the second part palita means 'protected'. Thus the whole literally means 'protected by serpents or a serpent-demon'. The name shows a tendency of the family towards serpent-worship.
2. Bhavaraksita (No.44, L.12) : Bhava is the name of Lord Siva[4] and raksita means 'protected'. Thus the whole would literally mean 'protected by Lord Siva'. The name shows a fondness of the family for the deity Siva.

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1. M.W.,p.534, col.3.
2. Ibid. For the use as the second part we have here Bhavanatha, other examples are Sivanatha, Ramanatha, etc.
3. M.W., p.749, col.1.
4. Ibid.

Names ending in Sarmma

Sarmma or Sarman, a brahmana surname is the common ending for the following names. In composition the word Sarma is used for Sarman meaning a shelter, protection, comfort, bliss, etc.[1] In some cases the word Sarma yields no satisfactory meaning when combined with the first part though it always possesses the significance of a brahmana surname. This Sarmma is the same as modern Sarma.

1. Ahisarmma (No.44, L.8) : The whole will literally mean 'a shelter for the serpents'.
2. Guptasarmma (No.44, L.7) : It would literally mean 'a hidden resort'. We can find many names with the first part 'Gupta', e.g., Guptanatha, Guptesvara, etc.
3. Harisarmma (No.44, L.7) : Hari means Lord Visnu or Krsna. We have also such names as Visnusarma and Sivasarma where the first part is based on the name of a certain deity. The The Sarma here gives no meaning to the first part.
4. Himasarmma (No.44, L.9) : Hima[2] means cold or winter. G. Buhler[3] takes the meaning of Hima as 'the moon'. So we can say that the name is based on the deity moon. The word Sarma here presses only the significance of a surname. It has got no meaning as the part of the name. Or we may say

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1. M.W., p.1058, col.2-3.
2. Ibid, p.1298, col.3.
3. E.I., vol.II, p.95.

that the name is based on the winter season.[1]

5. Kaivarttasarmma (No.44, L.9) : The word Kaivartta means 'a fisherman (born of a prostitute by a ksatriya or of an Ayogava female by a Nisada father).[2] We also come across a name 'Kaivartti-sresthin' in No.47, L.11. The name Kaivarttasarmma may signify the profession of the person who was by birth a brahmana. The word Sarma here yields no meaning when combined with the first part; it is only significant of a brahmana surname.

6. Kramasarmma (No.44, L.8) : Krama means uninterrupted or regular progress, hereditary descent.[3] It may literally mean 'one who protects the family by causing increase in descent (by his birth).

7. Laksmanasarmma (No.44, L.8) : The name is based on Laksmana, the younger brother of deity Rama. The word Sarma here has the significance of a surname only.

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1. Just like we have such names as Vasantarama or Vasantaraja based on the spring season.

2. M.W., p.311, col.3. The Kaivarttas or Kevattas (Keots) were spread all over the country in Bengal (Chatterji, S.K., The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, vol.I, p.67). As an occupational caste it has divided itself into Jaliya Kaivarttas who practised the calling of fisherman, and Haliya (or chasi) Kaivarttas (also spelled as Kaibarttas) who lived by agriculture. Later on Haliya Kaivarttas thinking themselves superior banned all intermarriage with Jaliya Kaivarttas and succeeded in getting recognition as a separate caste under the name of Mahisya (Hutton, J.H., Caste in India, p.46). According to the Brahmavaivartta Purana, Kaivarta is born of a ksatriya father and vaisya mother which is known as Mahisya (Gautam, IV, 20). It seems to imply that Kaivarta was degraded in Kaliyuga by his association with the Tivara and was known as, or adopted the vocation of a dhivara or fisherman (Majumdar, R.C.) The History of Bengal, Vol.I, p.591).

3. M.W., p.319, col.3.

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8. Maghasarmma (No.44, L.6) : Magha means wealth or power. Literally it would mean 'one who protects the wealth'.

9. Rupasarmma (No.44, LL.7-8) : Rupa means 'form, figure, beauty'. Here it may mean beautiful. We have similar names, e.g., Rupalal, Sunderlal, Rupachand, etc. The first part of the name is based on a virtue, i.e. 'beauty'. It would mean 'one who is beautiful'.

10. Rustasarmma (No.44, L.8) : Rusta means angry. The name might have been given due to furious nature of the man. Rusta was the name of a Muni.[1]

The word Sarman is only significant of the brahmana surname and yields no sensible meaning when combined with the first part.

11. Sukkrasarmma (No.44, LL.8-9) : Sukra means 'bright, resplendent; light-coloured, white'.[2] The name may be based on colour, day (Friday), or the sage Sukra. Literally it would mean 'one who is white-coloured'.

12. Susarmma (No.44, L.7) : 'Su' is generally prefixed before names. It means 'good or excellent'. The whole will literally signify 'one who is good'.

Names ending in Siva

1. Aparasiva (No.44, L.6) : Apara means 'having no rival or superior; having nothing beyond or after'.[3] The second part is Siva. The literal meaning of the name is 'the

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1. M.W., p.885.
2. Ibid, p.1080, col.1.
3. Ibid, p.50, col.2.

unrivalled or the great Siva. We have such names as 'Apararka';[1] Purnacandra or Purnasimha.

2. Vasusiva (No.44,L.6) : Vasu means 'good or beneficent'[2] and Siva refers to Lord Siva. So the whole will mean 'beneficent Siva'.

Names ending in Svamin

1. Alatasvamin (No.44,L.7) : The first part 'Alata' means fire.[3] We have in the Mahabharata a name 'Alataksi' 'having fiery eyes', one of the mothers in Skanda's retinue.[4] The second part svamin means 'a master, lord or owner'. It is also used for a spiritual preceptor, learned brahmana or pandita (used as a title at the end of names, especially of the natives of the Karnatic).[5] Literally the whole means 'the lord of fire'.

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1. M.W., p.50, col.3.

2. Ibid, p.930, col.3.

3. Ibid, p.94, col.3. अभिधान चिन्तामणि, पृ. २५२, श्लो. १७३।
"स्फुलिङ्गोऽग्निकणोऽलातज्वालोल्काऽलातमुल्मुकम् ।

4. M.W., p.94, col.3.

5. Ibid, p.1284, col.1.

2. Bhattasvamin (No.44, L.7) : The word Bhatta literally means 'lord' (from bhartri). It is a title of respect but is also affixed or prefixed to the names of learned brahmanas. Here it has been used as the first part of the name while in other examples we find it used as a second part of the name. Bhattasvamin is also the name of the author of a commentary on the Arthasastra. The whole name literally means 'the lord of lords'.

3. Brahmasvamin (No.44, L.7) : Brahma means Veda, prayer, the sacred word, the text of mantra used as spell.[1] We find several personal names based on this word in literature.[2] Literally the name means 'the lord of Brahma'.

4. Jayasvamin (No.44, L.9) : Jaya is the name of an attendant of Vishnu. So it is a Vaisnavite name, meaning 'the lord of Jaya', i.e. Vishnu.

5. Ramasvamin (No.44, L.11) : The name is based on the deity Rama. Literally it means 'the lord Rama', i.e. 'Rama eva svami'. Surnames give different meanings in different contexts, which is as required by the first part of the name.

Names ending in Vishnu

1. Guhavishnu (No.44, L.10; L.11) : Vishnu seems to have been the family deity of people listed here with Vishnu as the second part of their names. Guha is the name of Skanda or

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1. M.W., p.737, col.1.

2. Ibid, pp.737 ff.

Karttikeya. Visnu signifies Lord Visnu. So it is a name with the combination of two deities Guha and Visnu.

2. Jayavisnu (No.44, L.9) : The word Jaya means victorious. We find many names with the first part Jaya, for example, Jayadeva, Jayarama and Jayadatta. Jayavisnu means 'the victorious Visnu'.

3. Kirttivisnu (No.44, L.8) : Kirtti means fame or glory. The whole will literally mean 'the glorious Visnu'.

4. Kumaravisnu (No.44, L.5) : Kumara is another name of Skanda. Thus tims name is also formed by the combination of the names of two deities.

5. Sarvvavisnu (No.44, L.10) : Sarvva is the name of god Siva.[1] It is another case of a name formed by combining the names of two deities.

6. Somavisnu (No.44, L.8) : Soma is also a deity, personified as one of the most important Vedic gods, but in post-Vedic mythology and even in a few (late) hymns of the Rgveda and sometimes also in later-Vedic period Soma is identified with the Moon (as the receptacle of the other beverage of gods called Amrta, or as the lord of the plants) and with the god of the Moon as well as with Visnu, Siva, Yama and Kubera.[2] This name has also been

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1. M.W., p.1057, col.1.

2. Ibid, p.1249, col.3.

formed by the combination of the names of two deities.

7. Yasovisnu (No.44, L.5) : Yasas means fame or glory. The whole will literally mean 'the glorious Visnu'.[1]

One-word names

In such names the second part is generally dropped for the sake of brevity. The names of the gods given here directly in some cases are against prescribed rules, or else we may suggest that the second part has been dropped.

1. Acyuta (No.44, L.11) : Acyuta literally meaning 'not fallen', i.e. permanent, solid, firm, imperishable is the name of Lord Visnu or Krsna.[2]

2. Bhaskara (No.45, L.3; L.9; L.14; L.16) : Literally meaning 'one who produces the rays of light'. Bhaskara is the name of God Sun.[3]

3. Bhava (No.44, L.11) : Literally meaning 'coming into existence', Bhava is the name of Lord Siva. It also means 'the world'.[4]

4. Bhoyila (No.45, L.3; L.8; L.14; L.15) : It is a name with the suffix ila.[5] The name Bhavadatta seems to have changed to Bhoyila as in the case of Agila (Agnidatta),

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1. Cf. Kirtti-Visnu, No.3.
2. M.W., p.9, col.2.
3. Ibid, p.756, col.1.
4. Ibid, pp.748-49, col.3-1.
5. Panini, V.3.79.

Satila (Svatidatta), Nagila (Nagadatta) and Yakhila (Yaksadatta).[1]

5. Bonda (No.44, L.10) : It is a local name in Prakrtised form which literally means 'mouth'.[2] We have such names as Mukharama Sarma. The word seems to have some relationship with Bundelkhand in Madhya Pradesh where the inhabitants are called Bundelas.

6. Gopala (No.44, L.12) : Gopala literally meaning 'the protector or foster of the cows' is the name of Lord Visnu or Krsna.

7. Guha (No.44, L.10) : Guha is the name of Skanda or Karttikeya, Lord Siva, Lord Visnu.[3] According to Monier Williams, it is a name belonging to persons of the writer caste.[4] We cannot say with affirmity that Guha was such as a writers' caste in the Gupta period.

8. Hari (No.44, L.7) : Hari is the name of Lord Visnu or Krsna. It is to be derived from hri, 'to take away or remove evil or sin'.[5]

9. Kalaka (No.44, L.11) : It means dark-blue or black.[6] It is a name based on colour.[7] We have several cases of names

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1. India as Known to Panini, p.191, No.18.
2. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. ४३८।
3. M.W., p.360, col.2.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, p.1289, col.3.
6. Ibid, p.277, col.3.
7. अङ्गविज्जा, पृ. १५३ भूमिका पृ. ४७

with the word Kalaka, for example, 'Kalakaksa' black-eyed, the name of an Asura; 'Kalakacarya' a Jain teacher and astronomer; 'Kalakendra' name of a prince of the Dhanavas.[1] It is a name with the suffix 'ka'.

10. Kankuti (No.44, L.9) : The Sanskrta form will be kankatin meaning 'furnished with armour; when the form is Kankatini it means 'a chamberlain'.[2] Kanku is a mistake for kanka.[3] Kanku was the name of a son of Ugrasena.[4] Kanka[5] according to lexicographers means 'a false or pretended brahmana'; it was the name assumed by Yudhisthira before king Virata, when in the disguise of a brahmana.

11. Lidhaka (No.44, L.11) : This name has also been formed by the addition of the suffix 'ka'. The word is formed by the root 'lih' to lick, to eat or to taste.[6] Lidhaka thus means 'one who licks'. The name may have been given due to his habits of licking which exhibit greediness.

12. Mahi (No.44, L.10) : Mahi means 'earth' personified as deity. We have many names, formed with Mahi or its synonym , for example , Mahidasa, Mahidatta, Prthivikumara, etc.

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1. M.W., p.277, col.3.
2. Ibid, p.242, col.2.
3. Ibid, see : kanku.
4. Ibid.
5. M.W., p.242, col.1.
6. Ibid, p.903, col.1.

13. Nabhaka (No.33, L.4; L.8) : The name is formed with the addition of suffix 'ka' to nabha or nabhi meaning navel.[1] Literally it means 'navel born'. Generally incarnations are said to have been born from nabhi just as Brahma is said to have first appeared on the lotus sprung from the navel of Visnu.

14. Puramdara (No.44, L.9) : Literally meaning 'destroyer of strongholds', Puramdara is the name of Indra, the lord of the gods.[2]

15. Samkara (No.44, L.9) : Literally meaning 'causing prosperity', Samkara is the name of Lord Siva.[3]

16. Undana (No.5, L.5) : The root is found in the form both ud and und meaning to wet, bathe[4] from which the name can be derived. The name Undana may therefore mean 'kind or humane'.[5]

17. Vailinaka[6] (No.44, L.5) : The name is formed by adding suffix 'ka' to Vellana which means 'going, moving about, shaking, rolling (of a horse)'.[7] Vellana is also a sort of

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1. M.W., p.535, col.3. See nabha and nabhi.
2. Ibid, p.635, col.3.
3. Ibid, p.1054, col.3.
4. Ibid, p.183, col.1. See ud 2.
5. Ibid, pol.3. See unna.
6. The reading has been checked by me.
7. M.W., p.746, col.1.

rolling-pin with which cakes, chappatis, etc. are prepared.[1] The name denotes the habit of rolling or moving about of the child. In dodern times also names like Belana are given. It may refer to the baby being fat. It can refer to the person being of a changing temperament.

18. Vampiyaka (No.53, L.20) : It should be read as Vappiyaka. It is the name of a king in the Rajatarangini.[2] Vappa is the Prakrtised form for vapra meaning 'a rampart, any shore or bank, mound, hillock'[3] or the field.[4] Vappia also means 'field'[5] to which the suffix 'ka' has been added. We have similar names, such as 'Kedaranatha' meaning 'owner of the field'.

19. Visva (No.44, L.9) : Formed from the vis to pervade it means all-pervading or all containing, omnipresent. It is applied to Visnu or Krsna.[6] We have many similar names, e.g., Visvakarman, Visvanatha and Visvadatta.

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1. M.W., p.746, col.1.
2. Ibid, p.920, col.2. See vappiya or vappiyaka.
   रामकुमार राय - राजतरङ्गिणी कोश, पृ. १०८।
3. M.W., p.920, col.1.
4. पाइअसद्दमण्णवो, पृ. ७४५।
5. Ibid, p.746. वप्पिअ, पु., (दे) i.e. a desiya word.
6. M.W., p.992, col.2.

Miscellaneous

1. Adityabandhu (No.53, L.20) : The first part is Aditya meaning 'the deity Sun'; bandhu means 'a relation or friend'. So the whole means 'a friend of god Sun'. We have many examples of names with bandhu as the second part, e.g. Dinabandhu, Visvabandhu, Vedabandhu, etc. We have also names with Aditya as their first part asuch as Adityanatha and Adityanarayana.
2. Damarudra (No.44, L.6) : Dama means 'garland'[1] and rudra stands for Siva. The whole literally means 'Rudra having a garland'. The names with the first word 'dama' were popular in ancient times.[2]
3. Isvaracandra (No.44, L.6) : Isvara literally meaning 'powerful (capable of doing)' is often used as a synonym for Lord Siva.[3] Candra means 'the Moon'. The whole will literally mean 'the Moon of Lord Siva, situated on the forehead of Lord Siva'. Names with Candra as their second part are quite common even now, e.g., Sivacandra, Ramacandra and Krsnacandra.
4. Kumarabhuti (No.44, L.5) : Kumara means Skanda or Karttikeya and bhuti means power or wealth.[4] So the whole will mean 'power or wealth of Kumara'. We have also similar names like 'Bhavabhuti' meaning power or wealth of Lord Siva.

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1. M.W., p.475, col.1.
2. Cf. M.W., p.474, col.3 : Damakantha, Damagranthi, Damocandra, Damodara, etc.
3. M.W., p.171, col.1.
4. Ibid, p.762, col.3.

5. Kumarayasas (No.44, L.5) : The whole will mean 'fame or glory of Kumara'. A desire for the attainment of the glory of god Karttikeya is reflected here.

6. Mahasena (No.44, L.6) : Mahasena seems to have been used for karttikeya. Literally meaning 'having a great army or the commander of a large force or a great general, Mahasena is the name of karttikeya or Skanda.[1] Sena 'armed force' is also personified as the wife of Karttikeya.[2]

7. Nandadama (No.44, L.8) : Nanda is the name of the foster father of Krsna.[3] Dama means 'garland'. The whole literally means 'a garland of Nanda', i.e. one who is dearer to Nanda. It may refer to Lord Krsna. We have many examples of names with Nanda as their first part, e.g., Nandalal, Nandakisho and Nandakumara.

8. Prabhakirtti[4] (No.44, L.11) : Prabha is the Prakrtised form of Prabhu meaning 'God'. Kirti may be translated as glory. The whole thus means 'glory of God'.

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1. M.W., p.801, col.3.
2. Ibid, p.1246, col.2.
3. Ibid, p.526, col.3.
4. The reading has been checked by me.

NAMES OF VANIKAS (TRADERS)

1. Acalavarman (No.16, L.6) : Acala means 'firm' or 'stable'. Varman is a suffix used for Ksatriya names. Acalavarman is specifically mentioned as a ksatriya.[1] This is significant. It means that ksatriyas followed the profession of vaisyas.
2. Bandhumitra (No.34,L.5; No.35,L.4) : The name literally means "a friend of his relatives".
3. Bhri(bhru)kunthasimha (No.16, L.6) : The first part of the name means "one with contracted brows" (out of anger). The second part is simha or lion which is often the surname of ksatriyas.
4. Kapila (No.33, L.8) : He is described as a merchant but he also acted as a scribe. The name is based on colour and is probably to be connected with kapi 'monkey-coloured' brown, tawny, reddish.[2]
5. Sribhadra (No.33, L.8) : It is the name of a merchant who also acts as a scribe. It is a name based on Sri 'the goddess of wealth', the whole meaning 'auspicious for wealth'.

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1. No.16,L.6 :

इन्द्रापुरक-वणिज्यां क्षत्रियाचलवर्म - भृ (भ्रु)
कुण्ठ सिंहाख्यामधिष्ठा(ष्ठा) नस्य ....।

2. M.W.,p.250, col.3 ; cf.Agrawala,V.S., India as known to Panini, pp.190-91.

3. मि हिंसायाम्, तस्मात् त्राति इति।

6. Sthanudatta (No.38, L.5) : The name is based on the name of Lord Siva who is also called, 'Sthanu' meaning firm or immovable.[1] 'Datta' is a surname which means 'given'. The whole expressions means 'begotten on by the grace of Lord Siva.

7. Sthaya(na)pala (No.33, L.8) : A merchant who also acts as a scribe. D.C.Sircar takes the reading 'Sthayapala'.[2] He also suggests the possibility of a second reading 'sthanapala' which means 'watchman or policeman'.[3] This reading seems to be correct; Sthaya(na)pala yields no sensible meaning.

8. Vasumitra (No.37, L.4) : The first part of the name is vasu (wealth) and the second is mitra; the whole literally meaning 'a friend of wealth'. Another possibility is that the name is Vasu and 'mitra' is a solar deity and hence a surname based on the same. The sun is a friend of the human-beings inasmuch as he removes the darkness and protects the people from cold. The same sense of protection from troubles is implied in the word 'mitra' used for a friend.[4] [5]

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1. M.W., p.1262, col.3.
2. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p.333, L.8.
3. Ibid, f.n.7.
4. मि हिंसायाम्, तस्मात् त्रायति इति ।

CHAPTER V

NAMES OF BRAHMANAS; JAINAS AND BAUDDHAS; EPIC AND PAURANIC NAMES

Names of Brahmanas

Names ending in Bhatta

1. Devabhatta (No.44, LL.14-15; L.26) : Deva, the first part of the name, means 'god, heavenly or divine'. The second part is a name-ending suffix used for learned brahmanas. Prefix Bhatta denoting a scholar later became a surname, just as the English word 'Master' is undergoing a change in usage with the Gujarati-speaking people and the word 'professor' may soon have with the Marathi-speaking people.[1]

   Devabhatta was a brahmana. He was an inhabitant of Pundravardhana. He belonged to Vajasaneyacarana, and was versed in the four Vedas.

2. Kurama(a)ravyabhatta (No.40, L.5) : He is mentioned as a teacher of Chandoga (Veda), with the gotras Asva and Vajin. Kurama means bad (or misused) wealth and 'ravya' means 'famous'; bhatta is a suffix added to the names of

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1. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.118; M.W.,p.493,col.3.

scholarly brahmanas. So the whole expression may mean 'a teacher who is known for the ill use of his wealth'. Though such queer names are actually found in practice it is not unlikely that in the present case it is the nick-name which has been mentioned.

3. Visnupalitabhatta (No.40, L.5) : He was the son of Kuramaravyabhatta, a teacher of the Chandoga (Veda), with the gotras Asva and Vajin. The first part of his name 'Visnupalita' literally means 'protected by god Visnu'; the second part 'bhatta' is the name-ending suffix for a learned brahmana. This is very significant case. It shows that the injunctions of Manu were not universally observed and there were several breaches. Here we find that the name of Visnupalitabhatta, a brahmana ends in Palita which is normally prescribed for a Vaisya.[1]

Names ending in Datta

1. Amaradatta (No.44, L.15; L.26) : The first part 'Amara' means 'a god' and the second part 'datta' means 'given'. Thus the whole will mean 'Given by gods'. He was an inhabitant of Pundravardhana, and is described as belonging to Vajasaneyacarana and as versed in the four Vedas.

Amaradatta was also the name of a lexicographer and also of a prince in the Kathasaritsagara.[2]

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1. Kane, P.V., 'Naming a child or person', I.H.Q.,XIV,p.239.
2. M.W., p.80, col. 2-3.

2. Mahasenadatta (No.44, L.15; L.26) : The first part is 'Mahasena' which is the name of Karttikeya or Skanda.[1] The second part is 'datta' which means 'given'. The whole expression means 'given by god Skanda'. Mahasenadatta was a brahmana inhabitant of Pundravardhana, belonging to Vajasaneyacarana and versed in the four Vedas.

Names ending in Sarmma

1. Nagasarmma (No.29, L.3) : The first part is Naga based on the Naga or serpent-demon. The second part sarmma (or sarman) is a brahmana surname.
2. Mathasarmma (No.28, LL.3-4; L.12; L.17) : In lines 3-4 and 12 we get the second part as sarmma but in L.17 we find it as sarmma. The first part is Matha meaning 'protector, patron, possessor, owner, lord'.[2] The second part is a brahmana surname. Matha is the name of several authors.[3]
3. Sivasarmma (No.29, L.3) : The first part is the name of god Siva and the second is sarmma, a name-ending suffix for brahmanas.

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1. M.W., p.801, col.3.
2. Ibid, p.534, col.3.
3. Ibid.

1. Gopadevasvami (No.21, L.10) : The name has two parts. The first part is Gopadeva and the second part is 'svami'. Gopadeva means 'Lord of the cowherds' and is often applied to Indra, Krsna or Visnu, mostly to the last two in the post-Vedic period. The second part 'svami' means 'a spiritual preceptor, learned brahmana or Pandita' (used as a title at the end of names, especially of natives of the Karnatic).[1]

2. Jayabhattisvami (No.41, L.6) : The first part of the name is Jayabhatti. Jaya literally means triumph or being victorious (in battle, lawsuit, etc.). It was also the name of Arjuna (the son of Pandu), Indra, the Sun, of an attendant of Visnu and of many sages.[2] Bhatta or bhatti is also affixed or prefixed to the names of learned Brahmanas.[3] As explained above the second part of the name svami is the name-ending suffix added to the names of learned brahmanas. Jayabhattasvami was a brahmana and has been mentioned as traividya in subsequent lines of the inscription (L.8;L.9).[4]

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1. M.W., p.1284, col.1. We find Svamin name-endings frequently used in the names of Western Ksatrapas.

2. M.W., p.412, col.3.

3. Ibid, p.745, col.1; cf. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.148.

4. No.41, L.8; L.9.

Miscellaneous

1. Amrtadeva (No.38, L.6; L.14) : The first part is Amrta and the second is 'deva'. The term can mean 'the god Amrta' which is the name of Lord Visnu or we may call him 'the god of nectar' (Amrtasya deva). He was an inhabitant of Ayodhya.
2. Deva (No.16, L.5) : It is an abbreviated name without any suffix. Literally it means 'god, heavenly, divine' (also said of terrestrial things of high excellence).[1] It is also the name of men, and is used as a diminutive for Devadatta.[2] Deva of our inscription belonged to the community of the Caturvedins of the locality called Padma in the town of Indrapura.
3. Devavisnu (No.16, L.5) : The first part is 'Deva' which means 'god'. The second part is Visnu whichh may be the name of his family deity. Devavisnu belonged to the community of Caturvedins of the locality called Padma in the city of Indrapura. He daily performed the Agnihotra of the Ranayaniya Sakha of the Vedas.
4. Dudika (No.16, L.5) : He was a brahmana belonging to the community of Caturvedins of the locality known as Padma in the city of Indrapura. He has been mentioned as the great grandfather of the brahmana Devavisnu, the giver of an endowments for the maintenance of lamp in the temple of the god Sun.

   It is an abbreviated name with the ending 'ika'[3] like Devika from Devadatta; Yajnika from Yajnadatta and Chadika from Chandodatta.[4]

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1. M.W., p.492, col.2.
2. Ibid, col.3; Panini, V.3,83, Varttika,4.
3. Agrawala, V.S.,(Panini, V.3.78), India as Known to Panini,p.190.
4. Ibid.

The name 'Dadda', 'Dudda' or 'Dudda'[1] cannot be derived from any Sanskrt root like 'da'. Nor are these names found in any Sanskrt or Prakrt dictionary. Dr.H.D.Sankalia suggests that these names were derived from the Sanskrit term Dardara,[2] meaning 'a mountain', or a region having holes or ravines. The man may have shifted from a hilly region.

We find references to geographical names like 'Daddara-pabbata' and 'Mahadaddara' in the Daddara Jataka.[3] The Daddara-pabbata may be identified with the mountainous tract of Dardistan, lying to the north-west of Kashmir, and south of Little Pamir. Since the river Sindhu after its origin in the Himalayas near Tibet flows through this country, Panini calls the river Daradi Sindhuh.[4]

The people of this tract, the Daradas are mentioned in the Mahabharata in the list of the foreign tribes which sprang up along with the Yavanas, Mlecchas and Sakas, from the cow Kamadhenu, when she was being forcibly driven away by Visvamitra from Vasistha's asrama.[5] The Darada's are the people, living above Peshawar.[6] But the basic weakness in the suggestion made

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1. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.108.
2. M.W., p.470, col.1.
3. Shekhar, Malal, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I, p.1055.
4. Agrawala, V.S., "Geographical Data in Panini's Astadhyayi", J.U.P.H.S., 16.I.19.
5. Adi Parva, adhyaya, 175.
6. M.W., p.470, col.1.

by Dr.H.D.Sankalia[1] is, as he himself admits, these names are not found in any Sanskrt or Prakrt dictionary.

It may be noted that the words Doda and Dodda are synonyms used for a brahmana and Dodini stands for a brahmani, or a brahmana-woman.[2] These are desya words and hence refer to local elements.

In Panjabi language a person who is very simple or credulous or who can be very easily cheated is called 'Doda'. It is not unlikely that on account of his pious ways and bookish approach a brahmana was generally taken to be a simple person. In the Sanskrt story books the picture of a typical brahmana is that of a simpleton who can be easily duped. Hence it is possible that a brahmana was called 'Doda' and the feminine form of 'Doda' (i.e. Dodini) was used for a brahmana-woman.

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1. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, pp. 108-109.

2. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. ३७४

(i) डोड पुं (दे) ब्राह्मण, विप्र (सुख, ३,१)

(ii) डोडिणी स्त्री (दे) ब्राह्मणी (अनु. ६९ सूत्र)

(iii) डोडिणी स्त्री (दे) ब्राह्मणी (अणु ४९)

( ) डोड्ड पुं (दे) एक मनुष्य-जाति ब्राह्मण, 'दिट्ठो तक्खणजिमिओ निग्गच्छंतो बहिं डोड्डो, तो तस्सुवरं कालिअ (उप. १३९).

3. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. २२२।

In Karnataka 'Doddu' means 'big' or elder. 'Doddacarya' or 'Duddacarya' a term of respect for a learned Pandita is also used in satire.

It is interesting to note that Dadda is also an English slang word meaning 'a foolish person'.

5. Haritrata (No.16, L.5) : The first part of the name is Hari, which means 'God' and is also the name among others of Lord Visnu and Krsna. Generally Hari is derived from hri 'to take away or remove evil or sin'.[1] The second part 'trata' means 'protected'. Thus the whole literally means 'protected by Hari'.[2] Haritrata was a brahmana belonging to the community of the Caturvedins of the locality called Padma in the town named Indrapura.

6. Karppatika[3] (No.34, L.6) : The inscription records the purchase of land measuring one kulyavapa by a brahmana, named Karppatika, for the purpose of his agnihotra rites.

The word 'Karpatika' or Karpatika means 'acting deceitfully, fraudulent, dishonest, a rogue, cheat'.[4] It also means a beggar.[5] Both the meanings may be applied here.

7. Ttraividya (No.41, L.8; L.9) : His real name which occurs in L.6 of the inscription was 'Jayabhattisvami'. He was also known as Ttraividya. The term literally means 'one who knows the Three Vedas -- Rk, Sama and Yajus.

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1. M.W., p.1289, col.3.
2. Ibid, p.1290.
3. The reading is checked by me.
4. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. २२२।
5. Ibid.

NAMES OF JAINAS AND BUDDHAS

1. Abhayamitra (No.49,L.2; No.55,L.2) : The name consisting of two parts 'Abhaya' and 'mitra' can mean a friend of unfearfulness or 'an unfearful friend'. 'Abhaya' is also the name of Lord Siva[1] and 'mitra' is a synonym for the god Sun. Thus it may also be a name formed by combining the names of two deities as in the case of Ramakrsna. Abhayamitra was the name of a Buddhist monk who caused a pratima to be built.

2. Bhadra (No.22, L.4) : It is the name of a Jaina Acarya. Literally it means 'blessed, auspicious, fortunate, prosperous, happy'. Bhadra is also the name of Lord Siva.[2]

3. Bhattibhava (No.31, L2) : The image on which the Mathura Jaina Inscription of Kumaragupta I, of G.E.113 is inscribed was set up by Samadhya (Syamadhya), the daughter of Bhattibhava. Bhattibhava seems to have been a brahmana-follower of Jainism. Bhatta or Bhatti, a suffix meaning 'a teacher' has become a prefix here. Bhatti is the prakrtised form of Sanskrt 'bhartri' meaning a lord or master which came to be accepted as a Sanskrt word. 'Bhava' means 'a god, deity' and is also the name of Lord 'Siva'. Bhava also means 'prosperity, welfare'.[3] Thus the full name literally means

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1. M.W.,60, col.3.
2. Ibid, p.745, col.3.
3. Ibid, pp.748-49, col.3-1.

'One who is a (source of) prosperity, welfare teacher'. It can also be a case of a name after the deity 'Bhava' or 'Siva'.

4. Bhattisoma (No.15, L.6) : It was the name of a Jaina worshipper. He is described as a mahatma, the son of Somila who was a treasure-house of many virtues. The name Bhattisoma literally means, "Who is just a Soma (a life-giving element) for his teacher." It can as well be a case of a name after the deity Soma.

5. Buddhamitra (No.11, L.1) : 'Bhddha' refers to 'Lord Buddha' and 'mitra' means friend. The whole thus literally means 'a friend of Lord Buhhaa'. It is the name of a Buddhist monk.

6. Datilacaryya (No.31, L.2) : He was a Jaina acaryya. The correct form of the name should have been Dattilacarya. The word seems to be in a prakrtised form. According to Monier Williams[1] 'Dattila' is one of the forms of names terminating in 'datta'. Names like Devadatta may turn into Dattila when contracted.[2] Acaryya seems to be his epithet.

7. Gosarmma (No.22, LL.4-5) : 'Go' means cow and sarmma means 'shelter or protection'.[3] Thus the whole may literally mean 'one who is a shelter for the cows'. Acaryya Gosarmma mentioned as a muni seems to have been a Jaina Acaryya.

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1. M.W., p.467, col.3.

2. Agrawala, V.S., India as Known to Panini, p.192.

3. M.W., p.1058, col.2.

8. Guhanandi (No.40,L.6; L.13) : The first part Guha is the name of Skanda[1] and the second part is nandi; the whole literally means, 'One who is a servant to Lord Skanda'. Guhanandi was the name of a Jaina Acaryya.

The names of the Digambara Acaryas of the third and fourth centuries, such as Yasonandin, Jayanandin and Kumaranandin generally end in nandin. As Pundravardhana was one of the seats of Jaina pontiffs, beginning with Gupti – Gupta or Visakhacaryya, the disciple of Bhadrabahu II, it has been suggested that Guhanandin also belonged to the same place.[2]

9. Jitasena (No.53, L.30) : The first part of the name 'Jita' means 'won'. 'Sena' the second part of the name, generally refers to an army but in the present case we may translate it better as 'body' which is supported by lexicographers.[3] Thus the whole may literally mean 'One who has won the body', i.e., one having control over one's senses'. This would suit the context because Jitasena was an acaryya of the Buddhist monks.[4]

10. Kapila (No.42, L.6) : It is a name based on colour. Kapila means 'monkey-coloured' or 'yellow-coloured'. He was one of the teachers of the Mahesvara cult and has been mentioned as Bhagavat Kapila.

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1. M.W., p.360, col.2.
2. E.I.,XX, no.5, p.60.
3. M.W., p.1246, col.2.
4. बुद्धकपिलपाराशर्य- जितसेन.....।

11. Kusika (No.42; L.5) : He is described as one of the pupils of Lakulin (Nakulin in the Vayu Purana), an incarnation of Mahesvara.[1] It is an abbreviated name formed by the addition of the suffix 'ika'. According to lexicographers literally Kusika means 'squint-eyed'.[2] In the present inscription the name has the epithet bhagavat prefixed to it.

12. Madra (No.15, L.8) : He was a follower of Jaina cult full of affection for brahmanas and religious preceptors and ascetics and set up five stone images of Adikartrs or Tirthamkaras, i.e., the five images in the niches of the column and the column itself, at the village of Kakubha, i.e., Kahaum.

Madra is the name of a country to the north-west of Hindustan proper, or a king (pl. the people) of this country. It was also the name of a son of Sibi (the progenitor of the Madras).[3] Madri, we get the name of a princess of Madra.[4] Literally it means 'joy'.[5]

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1. (i). Vayu Purana, ch.23, vs.210-13.

   (ii). Linga Purana, ch.24, vs.127-131.

   (iii). About Lakulin or Lakulisa (holder of a club) :-
   (a) J.B.B.R.A.S., XXII, 151ff; E.I., XXI.1ff., E.I., XXI, 5-7, The Age of Imperial Unity, pp.453-54.

2. M.W., p.297, col.2.

3. Ibid, p.779, col.1.

4. Panini, IV, I.177.

5. Ibid, II.3.73. मद्रं तस्य, तस्मै, "Joy to him !"

13. Parasara (No.42, L.6) : He is mentioned as an acarya of the Mahesvara cult. The epithet 'Bhagavat' has been prefixed to his name. Literally Parasara means 'a crusher, destroyer'.[1] Parasara is also the name of an ancient sage, an authority on Jyotisa, Krsi, Vrksayurveda and Dharmasastra.

14. Parsva (No.22, L.3) : It is the same, the Tirthamkara Parsva or Parsvanatha; having the name of Parsva, the best of the Jinas. It is the name of the 23rd Arhat of the present Ava-sarpini and his servant.[2]

15. Rudrasoma (No.15, L.7) : He is the son of Bhattisoma who has been mentioned as a mahatma. He is mentioned to have another appellation of Vyaghra.[3] It may be a name formed by the combination of the names of two deities Rudra and Soma.

16. Samkara (No.22, L.6) : It is the name of a Jaina monk,[4] who installed an image of Parsvanatha. Literally meaning 'causing prosperity', it is one of the common names of Lord Siva.[5] The present case goes against the traditions of the Smrtis which forbid the giving of the names of deities directly to human beings.

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1. M.W., p.591, col.1.

2. Ibid, p.622, col.1-2.

3. No.15, L.7 -- तत्सूनु रुद्रसोम(:) पृथुल-मति-यशा व्याघ्र इत्यन्य-संज्ञो ।

4. स्व-संज्ञया शङ्कर-नाम-शब्दितो विधान-युक्तं यति -- मार्ग-मास्थितः ।

5. M.W., p.1054, col.3.

17. Sanasiddha (No.23, L.1; L.9) : It was the name of an upasaka. It seems to be a Prakrtised form of Sanskrt 'svayam siddha'[1], meaning 'existing on one's own strength'. Another possibility is that as 'sana' means 'old, ancient'[2], the whole may mean 'Siddha of Old'. It may be noted that in the Aitareya Brahmana sanasruta (meaning famous of old) appears as the name of a man.

18. Santideva (No.53, L.4) : He was a Buddhist monk of the Mahayana school and has been mentioned as Acaryya Santideva.[3] The name Santideva was quite popular among the Buddhists. Literally the name means 'the god of tranquillity or prosperity'.

19. Somila (No.15, L.6) : It is the name of a follower of Jainism whose greatt grandson Madra is mentioned as having established the five excellent images referring to the five naked Jaina Tirthamkaras sculptured on the column (viz., Adinatha, Santinatha, Neminatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira).[4] Somila can be an abbreviated form of the name 'Somadatta'.[5] In Panjabi usage a person named 'Somadatta' may be addressed as 'Somi'; Somila may be a similar form convenient to utter.

S Somila can also be formed by adding 'ilach' suffix to the

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1. स्वयंसिद्ध - संसिद्ध - सन्सिद्ध -- सनसिद्ध ।
2. M.W., p.1141, col.1.
3. महायानिक - शाक्यभिक्वाचार्य्य - शान्तिदेव ....।
4. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.317, F.No.3.
5. Agrawala, V.S., India as Known to Panini, pp.191-192.

word 'Soma' and hence meaning 'full of Soma'. Somila was the name of a poet.[1] Kalidasa also mentions a poet named Saumila along with Bhasa[2] who was identical with Somila. In the Kathasaritsagara Somila is the name of an Asura.

20. Udi(ta)caryya (No.42, L.8) : Udita means 'proclaimed' or 'high'[3] and 'acaryya' means teacher, the whole literally meaning 'a high teacher'. Arya Uditacaryya was one of the acaryyas of the Mahesvara cult, tenth from the Bhagavat Kusika and fourth from the Bhagavat Parasara.

21. Upamita (No.42, L.7) : Literally the name means "compared or illustrated by comparison",[4] or in other words 'one who is quoted for comparison, i.e., very high or perfect'. Upamita was one of the acaryyas of the Mahesvara cult.

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1. M.W., p.1251, col.2.

2. प्रथितयशसां भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य क्रियायां .।

3. M.W., p.186, col. 1-2.

4. Ibid, p.203, col.3.

EPIC AND PAURANIC NAMES

In our inscriptions we get references to Epic and Pauranic names which are as follows :-

1. Bali (No.14, L.2) : The reference to Bali comes in connection with the praise of Lord Visnu.[1] Literally meaning 'one who is powerful or vigorous', Bali was the son of Virocana and the grandson of Prahlada and has been the king of the Asuras.[2] A famous legend about him runs thus – The demon Bali, by his austerities acquired the dominion over the three worlds, and caused annoyance and anxiety to the gods. Visnu then reincarnated himself as a dwarf, appeared before Bali, and asked for as much land as he could cover with three strides. Bali assented to his request, and Visnu with two strides covered the heavens and the earth, but, in commiseration for Bali, who then humbled himself, left him the dominion over the lower regions below the earth.[3] We get a reference to

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1. त्रियमभिमतमोग्यां नैककालापनीतां,
त्रिदशपति - सुखात्थं यो बलेराजहार ।
कमल- निलयनायाः शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः,
स जयति विजितार्त्तिर्विष्णुरत्यन्त-जिष्णुः ॥

2. Diksitar, V.R.R., The Purana Index, Vol.II, p.469.

3. C.I.I., III, p.62, note I.

this legend as early as in the Visnusukta of the Rgveda.[1]

2. Buddha (No.23, LL.6-7) : He has been given the epithet 'The Divine' (Bhagavan Buddha). He is mentioned in connection with a Buddhist temple. Literally the name means awakened, conscious or intelligent. For Buddhists it stands for a fully enlightened man who has achieved perfect knowledge of the truth and thereby is liberated from all existence and before his own attainment of Nirvana reveals the method of obtaining it. The principal Buddha of the present age was born at Kapilavastu in the year 566 B.C.[2] His father Suddhodana was the Raja of that district. His mother was Mayadevi, and his original name was Siddhartha. He belonged to the Ksatriya Sakya tribe, while Gautama seems to refer to the race to which his family belonged. He had left his home in quest of truth and after a concentrated meditation for a few years attained the discovery of truths and was called the Buddha or the enlightened.[3]

3. Krsna (No.13, L.13) : It is a name based on colour, meaning black-dark, dark-blue. "Vasudeva, a descendant of Yadu and Yayati, had by his second wife Devaki, eight sons of whom the last, Krsna, was born with black skin and a peculiar mark on

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1. RV., I. 154.

2. Majumdar, R.C., Ancient India, p.168.

3. Ibid, p.169.

his breast."[1] Yasoda was Krsna's foster-mother to whom he was shifted in Gokula or Vraja immediately after his birth to escape the cruel hands of Kamsa. In our inscription Skandagupta has been compared with Lord Krsna, who after slaying his enemy Kamsa had returned to his mother Devaki.[2]

4. Partha (No.17, L.14; No.19, L.5) : In No.17 king Visvavarman is compared with Partha in (heroic) deeds of war. In No.19 Bhanugupta is described as a mighty king equal to Partha, exceedingly heroic. Partha is formed from Prtha and is a metronymic for Arjuna who has been mentioned in the Puranas, as the husband of Subhadra and father of Abhimanyu.[3]

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1. M.W., p.306, col.2 ;
   Diksitkar, V.R.R., The Purana Index, Vol.I, pp.435-450.

2. No.13,V.6.

   विप्लुतां वक्ष - लक्ष्मीं, भुजबल-विजितारिय्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः ।
   जितमिति परितोषान्मातरं साश्रुनेत्रां, हतरिपुरिव कृष्णो देवकी-
   मभ्युपेतः ॥

   "It has been suggested that his mother's name was Devaki, but this view rests merely on an analogy which the poet had drawn between his visit to his widowed mother after his victory and that of Krsna to Devaki. This analogy might have been due to similarity of circumstances rather than similarity of names."

   Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age, pp.176-177.

3. Diksitar,V.R.R., The Purana Index, Vol.II, p.318.

5. Prthu (No.2, LL.7-8) : Samudragupta is stated to have surpassed the kings like Prthu and Raghava in giving gold. Literally Prthu means broad, wide, expansive, extensive, spacious or large.[1]

About nineteen Prthus have been mentioned in the Puranas,[2] the most important and famous being the Vainya. Here the reference seems to this Prthu, the Vainya.

He is the son of Vena got out of by the churning his right arm by the sages to save him from falling into hell and is considered the ninth incarnation of Hari. He was the first king who introduced agriculture. Due to scarcity of supply when people complained of hunger, he armed his arrow and the earth was milked. Hilly tracts were levelled and different kinds of villages, cities and towns were organised for the first time. Prthu has been panegyrised by the Gandharvas, and Siddhas playing on different musical instruments.[3]

6. Raghava (No. 2, L. 8) : Samudragupta is mentioned to have surpassed the kings like Prthu and Raghava in giving gold.[4] Raghava literally means a descendant of Raghu,[5] and is used as a patronymic of Aja of

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1. M.W., p. 646, col. 2
2. Diksitar, V.R.R., The Purana Index, Vol. II, pp. 381-4
3. Ibid., pp. 381-2
4. No. 2, L. 8

सुवर्णदाने संधारितारि नृपतयः पृथु राघव प्रभृतयः ॥

5. Diksitar, V.R.R., The Purana Index, Vol. III, p. 43
Raghu has been known as the son of Dirghabahu, and a man of everlasting glory. His son was Aja.

Dasaratha and Ramacandra. In dual number (raghavau) it refers to Rama and Laksmana.[1]

7. Sagara (No.37,L.12; No.38,L.21) : He is mentioned in these inscriptions as a donor of lands.[2]

Literally Sagara means 'containing poison or poisonous. It is the name of a king of the solar race, sovereign of Ayodhya, son of Bahu. He is said to have been called Su-gara, as born together with a poison administered to his mother by the co-wives of her husband. He was father of Asamanjasa by Kesini and of sixty thousand sons by Sumati ; the latter were turned into a heap of ashes by the sage Kapila, and their funeral ceremonies could only be performed by the waters of Ganga to be brought from heaven for the purpose of purifying their remains ; this was finally accomplished by the devotion of Bhagiratha.[3]

8. Vyasa (No.28,L.21; No.29,L.14; No.37,L.15; No.44,L.30; No.45,L.21; No.53,LL.11-12) :

Vyasa has been mentioned as Bhagavan (venerable) Vyasa in No.28 ; as Dvaipayana in No.29 and as Vedavyasa in No.45. In No. 44, there is a reference to his sayings in the

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1. M.W., p.872, col.2.

2. No.37,L.12; No.38,L.21 :

बहु भिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः ।

3. Diksitar, V.R.R., The Purana Index, Vol.III, pp. 501-2.
M.W., p.1125, col.1-2.

Mahabharata.[1] In No.53 he is described as the compiler of the Vedas and as a son of Parasara.[2]

Literally Vyasa means 'division or extension' and as the name of a person it signifies an arranger, compiler or narrator. Vyasa is said to have rearranged the Vedas into four parts, and taught each of them to four respective pupils – Paila, Vaisampayana, Jaimini and Sumantu; he also rearranged Itihasa – Puranas and composed the Bharata and the Bhagavata.[3] Subsequently, the name Vyasa came to be applied to any great typical compiler or author'.[4] He was the son of the sage Parasara and was brought

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1.No.44,L.30. इदं च महाभारते भगवता व्यासेन

2.No.53,LL.11-12. भगवता पराशरात्मजेन वेदव्यासेन मासेन गीता। इलोका' भवन्ति।

3.Diksitar,V.R.R., The Purana Index, Vol.III, pp.349-50.

4.M.W, p.1035,col.2; some scholars doubt the historicity of Vyasa as a person and consider him to be a mythical personage, or that it simply meant 'an arranger' (Kalyana, Year 41, No.7, July,1967, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, pp.1036-38). Vyasa appears as the term for a narrator of the epics and the Puranas. It came to refer to learned Brahmanas who did this work. It appears that Vyasa was really a historical person, who rearranged the Vedas and the Puranas. He seems to have started a tradition or school of learning. After his death his name was associated with his chair or seat of learning which was maintained by his successors or disciples. Vyasa is still the gotra of many families. The literary references to Vyasa are available in the Brahmanas and the Sutra literature literature as well as in the Mahabharata and the later Sanskrit literature (op.cit., Kalyana, pp.1038-41). Here we do not propose to enter into the complicated question of the date of Vyasa and connected events and characters. But, as is well known the Period of the Brahmanas is generally supposed to extend from 1000 B.C. to 600 B.C., likewise the Sutra literature is taken to extend from sixth or seventh century before Christ to about the second century. The Mahabharata is generally supposed to have taken its present form in the long interval from the fifth century B.C. to 400 A.D. But the first compilation of the kernel of the Mahabharata story from scattered gathas may be placed much earlier. This receives some support from the tradition of three stages in the evolution of the Mahabharata text. If Vyasa is accepted as a contemporary of Krsna and of the Mahabharata war we may place Vyasa round about 1000 B.C.

forth by his mother Satyavati on an island in the river Yamuna. Hence he is also known as Dvaipayana and Badarayana.[1] As he was called Krsna-Dvaipayana, it seems that Vyasa, Dvaipayana, and Badarayana were epithets; his original name might have been Krsna due to his dark complexion,[2] and he was called 'Dvaipayana for being brought by Satyavati on an island (dvipa).

9. Yudhisthira (No.28,L.24; No.29,L.16; No.35,L.12; No.37,L.17; No.44,L.33; No.45,L.24; No.53,L.14) :

He is mentioned in the imprecatory verse and is described as the best of kings. Literally meaning 'firm or steady in battle', it was the name of the eldest of the five sons of Pandu. He is said to have been the child of Prtha or Kunti, and Pandu, born of Dharma. He was father of Prativindhya and Sudhanu and before his death installed his grandson Pariksita on the throne and Vajra at Mathura.[3]

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1. M.W., p.727, col.3: Badara means 'water'; one who is brought forth in water may be called Badarayana.

2. Diksitar, V.R.R., The Purana Index, Vol.I, p.450 : see Krsna II.

3. M.W., p.855, col.1 ;
Diksitar, V.R.R., The Purana Index, Vol.III, pp.32-33.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX - I

A note on the king Candra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription

This iron pillar bearing the inscription of Candra was originally erected on a hill called Visnupada near the Beas, but was brought to Meharauli (Delhi) and was installed near the well known Kutub Minar.[1] We also know of the transfer of the Asokan pillars from Topra and Meerut to Delhi.[2]

Though many scholars[3] have tried to identify Candra of this inscription, it remains a baffling problem. The generally accepted view is to identify him with Candragupta II.[4]

Recently Goyal[5] identified Candra with Samudragupta. His argument is that the original name of the king was not Candra and in his support he quotes Fleet[6] and Allan. His second contention is that whereas there is no evidence to prove that Candragupta II had any military success in Bengal, we have a positive reference in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription to

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.283, note 3.
2. Ibid, p.53, note 1.
3. Goyal, S.R., 'A History of the Imperial Guptas', pp.201-9.
4. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), pp.168-69. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.283, note 1.
5. Goyal, S.R., op.cit., pp.201-09.
6. C.I.I., III, p.142, note 2.

Samatata, Davaka and Kamarupa as the bordering (pratyanta) states of Samudragupta's empire. Goyal further argues that Candragupta II had nothing to do with the North-West, but Samudragupta had suzerainty over Daivaputrasahisahanusahis who ruled in that region. He also points out that Samudragupta had advanced victoriously to the south as far as Kanchi while Candragupta II can at best be credited with matrimonial alliances or diplomatic activities alone in the South. Following Majumdar, Mookerji and Agrawala he holds that Candraprakasa, son of Candragupta mentioned by the rhetorician Vaman was no other than Samudragupta and thus concludes that Candra was another name of Samudragupta.

We cannot accept Goyal's view since his arguments stand on a weak edifice. We shall refute them one by one.

Fleet[1] was mislead by the reading 'Dhavena' suggested for 'Bhavena' in line 6 by many scholars. But a perusal of the passage does not leave any doubt about Candra being the original name of the king. Allan followed by Goyal[2] describes it as a 'poetical allusion'. But that does not mean that the king had any name other than Candra. When the poet[3] shows that his name was quite in consonance with his qualities it is no doubt a poetic way of referring to his name. We have a similar instance

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1. C.I.I., III, p.142; also see note 2.
2. Goyal, S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, p.203.
3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.284.

चन्द्रप्रहर्षेण समग्र-चन्द्र-सदृशीं वक्त्रे श्रियं बिभ्रता ।

in the Mandasor Inscription of the Malava Year 524 (467 A.D.).[1] Moreover, the reading in line 6 of the inscription is clearly 'Bhavena' and not Dhavena.[2]

We know that only a part of Bengal, i.e. Samatata was conquered by Samudragupta; Davaka and Kamarupa being in Assam their subjugation does mean the occupation of the whole of the Vangas. Gupta inscriptions are recovered from Pundravardhana, Damodarpur and Rajshahi districts of Bengal only after the reign of Candragupta II. Moreover it seems that the people of Samatata had revolted and were joined by other neighbouring kings[3] and

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1. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.406.

गुप्तान्वय-व्योम्नि चन्द्रकल्पः श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-प्रथिताभिधानः ।

2. Very recently I have personally visited Meharauli to check the reading. The letter 'bha' of 'Bhumipatina' is identical in form with the letter 'bha' of Bhavena.

   Sircar suggests the reading 'Devena', Devagupta being another name of Candragupta II (Select Inscriptions, ed.1965, p.285, note 2). But, the view is not plausible. There was no need of mentioning the king's name again since it is mentioned as Candra in the preceding line and 'tena' refers to that. Moreover 'bhavena' here represents 'devotion of the king', the translation of the whole phrase being : 'By that king Candra, having a mind full of devotion (Bhava = bhakti-bhava) to Lord Visnu, this lofty standard of Visnu was seth up on the Visnupada hill'.

3. Fleet, C.I.I., III, p.141 : यस्योद्वर्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्याग-
तान्वङ्गेष्वाहव-वर्तिनो(ऽ)भिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिर्भुजे ।

If we do the अन्वय it will run thus :

यस्य वङ्गेष्वाहव-वर्तिनो (revolting) शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्
उरसा प्रतीपम् उद्वर्तयतः कीर्तिः खड्गेन भुजेऽभिलिखिता ।"
'Whose fame of kneading back with his breast the revolting enemies in Vanga uniting together, was inscribed by sword

king Candra suppressed the revolt with his force; eventually the whole of Vanga may have come under his suzerainty.

These considerations apart, palaeographically also the inscription was considered by Fleet to be later than Samudragupta. Prinsep placed it in the 3rd or 4th Century and Bhau Daji in the post-Gupta period.[1] But Sircar assigns the record to the 5th Century on the basis of the resemblance of the marked matras or horizontal top-strokes on the letters with those used in the Bilsad Inscription of Kumaragupta I (415-16 A.D.).[2]

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on his arm'. It is a poetic way of the description of the suppression of revolt. The phrase "शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्वङ्गेष्वा-हव-वर्तिनो" suggests 'the enemies in Vanga had revolted and had come to fight against king Candra uniting together with other neighbouring kings who might have been afraid by his increasing power. Any such revolt was possible after the death of Samudragupta. उद्वर्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा suggests that king Candra himself had not gone to fight against them but he kneaded them back by the force of his breast; the description is given here metaphorically : यस्य कीर्तिः खड्गेन भुजेऽभि-लिखिता...... i.e., 'on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword. It is also a poetic way of describing the victory meaning thereby 'who had won the battle by the force of sword in his hand'. Or it may even suggest that he had won in battle but his arm was injured which is as if it was a fame inscribed on his arm by the sword. It was considered a matter of pride for the commanders and kings to have scars of wounds in battle on the parts of their bodies.

1. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.283, note 2.

2. Ibid.

This consideration is very important, but Goyal finds it convenient not to consider it since it goes against his theory.

It is further to be noted that in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription there is no reference to the conquests of the Vahlikas by Samudragupta, though the neighbouring tribes of the Daivaputras, Sahis and Sahanusahis, Sakas and Murundas are mentioned as paying homage to Samudragupta. On the contrary king Candra is said to have conquered the Vahlikas in a warfare after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu.[1]

So far as the conquests of king Candra in the South, are concerned we submit that it is an eulogy (prasasti) which may be of the conventional type and may not be entirely historical. The conventional claim is repeated by some later kings.[2] In Line 5 of the Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription we find that Yasodharman (c.525-35 A.D.) boasts to have conquered the whole country to the west of the Lauhitya, to the South of the Tuhinasikharin, to the east of the Pascima-payodhi and to the north of

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1. Fleet, C.I.I., III, p.141.

'तीत्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता वाह्लिका' ।

Fleet seems to have wrongly translated this line as 'he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vahlikas were conquered'.

If we do the अन्वय it will be like this :-

'येन सिन्धोः सप्त मुखानि तीत्वा वाह्लिका समरे जिताः' ।

i.e., 'by whom after crossing the seven mouths of the river Indus, the Vahlikas were conquered in warfare'. The king had not to fight for crossing the seven mouths of the Indus since the inhabitants of this place were already conquered by Samudragupta and were ruling in obeisance to the Guptas.

2. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.284, f.n.1.

the Mahendra (cf. Mahendracala in the Tirunelveli district).[1] We know that Candragupta II had a great influence in the south. His daughter Prabhavatigupta was married to the Vakataka king Rudrasena II. There is some evidence to show that during the regency of Prabhavatigupta Gupta officers exercised some control over Vakataka administration. Further Candragupta II arranged a marriage between his son and the daughter of Kakutsthavarman, the most powerful ruler of the Kadamba family in the Kanarese country of the Bombay Presidency.[2]

Goyal's assumption that Candra was another name of Samudragupta is incorrect. We have criticised it earlier on linguistic and palaeographic considerations. Moreover it looks funny that the name of Candragupta I, his son and his grandson alike should be the same. Utilising the evidence of Vamana that Vasubandhu was the minister of Candraprakasa, the son of Candragupta Goyal quotes Majumdar[3] and takes Candragupta to be Candragupta I and regards Candraprakasa as another name of Samudragupta. But Majumdar himself strikes a note of caution when he says that

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1. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965),p.284, f.n.
   आ लौहित्योपकण्ठात्तालवन-गहनोपत्यकादा महेन्द्रादा गङ्गाश्लिष्ट-
   सानोर्हिमशिखरिण - पश्चिमादा पयोधेः ।

2. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.170.

3. Goyal, S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, p.209.

"It is not altogether impossible that Vasubandhu's patron belonged to this[1] or a similar local dynasty of Ayodhya."[2] We cannot associate Vasubandhu with the Imperial Guptas unless we find any strong evidence of a positive nature.

Thus we see that the arguments raised by Goyal do not support his view that Samudragupta is to be identified with Candra. In the absence of any other positive evidence, to the contrary, the theory of Candra's identification with Candragupta II holds good.

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1. A king named Baladitya has been mentioned in an inscription found at Sarnath (C.I.I., III, p.284).

2. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), pp.155-56, f.n.2.

APPENDIX - II

A note on the name of the mother of Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta

In this connexion we have four inscriptions at our disposal:

(i). Nalanda Clay Seal of Narasimhagupta (No.48).

(ii). Bhitari inscribed copper-silver seal of Kumaragupta III (No.50).

(iii). Nalanda baked Clay Seal of Kumaragupta III (No.51).

(iv). Nalanda Clay Seal of Budhagupta (No.54).

In No.50, L.6, Sircar[1] takes the reading Candradevi for the mother of Narasimhagupta. It has been read as 'Srivatsadevi' by Fleet. It has been checked by me and the reading taken by Fleet is found to be correct. The same reading is also found in No.51, L.6.[2]

In No.48,L.7, Candradevi is found to be the name of Narasimhagupta's mother. Hirananda Shastri reads the name as 'Srivainyadevi' but he amends the reading as 'Candradevi'.[3] Sircar also accepts 'Candradevi' as the correct reading.[4]

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1. Sircar,D.C.,Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.330; also see f.n.3.
2. M.A.S.I.,No.66,p.66, see the plates attached in the last portion of the Journal; Plates VIII (c) and (d).
3. Ibid, p.65.
4. I.H.Q., XIX, p.273; Select Inscriptions (ed.1965),p.339, f.n.3.

In No.54 Candradevi is mentioned as the mother of Budhagupta.[1] But Sircar takes the reading 'Sri Mahadevi' but himself considers it to be doubtful.[2]

Now we find that the inscriptions No.50 and 51 mention 'Srivatsadevi' as the mother of Narasimhagupta while in No.48 Candradevi is clearly the name of Narasimhagupta's mother. In No.54 'Candradevi' is also mentioned as the name of Budhagupta's mother.

These different readings have created confusion about the names of Budhagupta's and Narasimhagupta's mothers. In the genealogical table Mookerji mentions 'Candradevi' as the mother of both Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta.[3] Sircar writes, "We cannot be sure about the name of Budhagupta's mother; but she seems to be different from Candradevi, mother of Narasimhagupta."[4] But the objection of Sircar is not valid, as in the inscriptions No.50 and 51 Srivatsadevi and not Candradevi is mentioned as the mother of Narasimhagupta.

The real difficulty is created by inscriptions No.48 and 54 when they mention Candradevi as the mother of both Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta.

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1. M.A.S.I., No.66, p.65; The reading has been checked by me in Plates VIII(B) and VIII(C) affixed at the last portion of the Journal.

2. I.H.Q., XIX,p.273; Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.339.

3. Mookerji, R.K., The Gupta Empire, pp. 104-105.

4. I.H.Q., XIX, p.274.

APPENDIX - III

Explanation of the Passage
Paistapuraka-Mahendragirikautturakasvamidatta

This expression occurs in L.19 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. The compound expression has been analysed in different ways by various scholars.

Fleet splits it up as :

Paistapuraka-Mahendra-girikautturaka-Svamidatta[1] and translates it as Mahendra of Pistapura, Svamidatta of Kottura on the hill.[2]

The first inclination of Fleet[3] is to analyse the expression thus: 'Paistapuraka-Mahendragiri-Kautturaka-Svamidatta and to translate it as 'Mahendragiri of Pistapura, and Svamidatta of Kottura', but he does not stick to it finding difficulty in accepting giri or gir as suitable termination for a king's name, thinking it only to be used as a religious title.[4]

G.Ramdas[5] takes the whole phrase to be one and translates it as 'Svamidatta, who had his seat at Pistapura and at Kottura

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1. Fleet, C.I.I., III, p.7.
2. Ibid, p.13.
3. Ibid, p.7, f.n.2.
4. Ibid.
5. I.H.Q.I., p.680.

near Mahendragiri'. This means that Svamidatta was the king of both the places. Ramdas supports it by the fact that in inscriptions we often find the king of Pistapura to have been the king of Kalinga also in which Kottura is situated. He also does not accept the name Mahendragiri of a king, it being unsupported by history or inscriptions. Bhau Daji[1] gives another rendering 'Svamidatta of Pistapura, Mahendragiri, and Kottura'. But the suggestions of Bhau Daji and G.Ramdas are untenable, because in that case the reading in the text, would have been'Mahendragirika' in place of Mahendragiri.

As regards the objection that the termination giri or gir is used only for Gosavis and not for kings, even in Ancient India we find people bearing such names as Himadri, Hemadri and Sesadri[2] as well as the name Simhagiri,[3] all based on terms signifying mountain.

As rightly pointed out by Bhandarkar,[4] in dividing the text, the following two considerations are to be kept in view :

(i). None of the king's names is coupled with more than one locality.

(ii). The name of every locality is marked with vrddhi at the beginning and with the suffix 'ka' at the end.

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1. J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. IX, p., CXCVIII.

2. I.C., vol. II, pp. 761-62.

3. E.I., vol. II, p. 105, No.77; and p.371, No.134.

4. Bhandarkar, D.R., "Mahendragiri, ruler of Pistapura", I.C., vol. II, pp. 761-62.

Thus the only correct division of the text can be :-
Paistapuraka-Mahendragiri-Kautturaka-Svamidatta'.[1]

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1. Ibid, see Bhandarkar's remarks :

"The vrddhi in Kautturaka clearly shows that the word giri preceding it is to be connected with Mahendra. Again, if giri had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler Svamidatta was, we shall have had Gairikotturaka instead of giri-kautturka. Secondly, it is not necessary to take giri here as a denominational suffix similar to that of giri or gir of Gosavis, as Fleet has done. It is best to understand the whole of Mahendragiri as one name and as the proper name of the ruler of Pistapura. If the names of the sacred rivers have been adopted as individual names among Hindu females, the names of the sacred mountains have similarly been adopted among Hindu males" ;

Cf. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, vol.X, part II, pp.35-36 who also very strongly supports Bhandarkar.

APPENDIX - IV

Explanation of the expression 'Daivaputrasahisahanusahi'

Scholars do not agree in their views about the explanation of the expression 'Daivaputrasahisahanusahi' mentioned in line 23 of Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. Daivaputras along with Sahis, Sahanusahis, Sakas, and Murundas, and the people of Simhala and all (other) islands are said to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Samudragupta by rendering to him all kind of service (seva) such as coming to the emperor personally (atmanivedana) gifts of maidens (Kanyopayana), presents (dana) and application (yacana) for charters bearing the Imperial Gupta Garuda seal (Garutmadanka) by which they would not be disturbed in the enjoyment (bhukti) and administration (sasana) of their respective territories (svavisaya).[1]

Fleet, V.A.Smith and Allen split 'daivaputra-sahi-sahanusahi' into three different titles denoting three different princes,[2]

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1. No.I, LL.23-24 : दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि-शकमुरुण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्व्व-द्वीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन-कन्योपायन-दान-गरुत्मदङ्क-स्वविषय-भुक्तिशासन-याचनाद्युपाय-सेवाकृत ...... ।

2. Pandey, R.B., Historical and Literary Inscriptions, p.75, f.n.4; Fleet, C.I.I., III, p.14.

who might have been rulers of three smaller states into which the Kusana empire was divided, each one of them appropriating one of the titles for himself.[1] But Majumdar,[2] Bhandarkar,[3] Sircar[4] and Raychoudhury[5] take 'Daivaputra-sahi-sahanusahi' to indicate one Kusana ruler.

In his recent work Goyal[6] raises the objection that there was no Kusana ruler so powerful in the third quarter of the fourth century A.D., to whom could be attributed such a great title as 'daivaputrasahisahanusahi'. He divides the whole expression into two parts 'daivaputrasahi' and 'sahanusahi' to denote two powers. According to him, the former is to be identified with the Kidara Kusana king and the latter with Shahpur II, the Sassanian sahansah. His contention is that the word Devaputra has not been used as a title, its taddhita form shows that it is an adjective to the next word sahi.

Buddha Prakash[7] gives new suggestion that the whole expression 'daivaputrasahisahanusahi' denotes a Persian king. His

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1. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.147.
2. Ibid.
3. I.H.Q.I., p.259 : 'It is forgotten, that the initial word is not 'Devaputra but Daivaputra, a taddhita form, which shows that the term cannot stand by itself and must be taken along with what follows. The whole expression corresponds with the full royal insignia 'Daivaputra-maharaja-rajatiraja' of the later great Kusanas.
4. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.266, f.n.1.
5. Raychaudhuri,H.C., Political History of Ancient India, p.460.
6. Goyal,S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, pp.176-77.
7. I.C.,vol.XIII,p.85, 'The Political Geography of India on the eve of Gupta Ascendency', pp.85-90.

assertation is that the Kusanas had lost their importance and independence by that time by allying themselves with the Persians; this is clear from Kalidasa, who in referring to the North-Western conquests of Raghu, does not mention the Sakas but refers only to the Persians.[1] Moreover, in the Kusana records Sahanusahi has never been used as the imperial title of the Kusanas and has been a title exclusively employed by the Sassanian sovereigns. He thus takes 'devaputra' to stand for the Kusana king of the Indus valley and Kasmeremandala and Sahanusahi for the Sassanian emperor Shahpur II (309-379 A.D.); and concludes that, the mention of 'devaputrasahanusahi' together suggests an alliance of the Kusanas with the Sassanians, cemented by the marriage between the Kusana princess and Hormizd II (302-309 A.D.).[2]

But in Buddha Prakash's view cannot be accepted. He neglects the word 'Sahi' occurring between Daivaputra and Sahanusahi. Moreover, he takes into his account the word 'Devaputra' but does not consider the form Daivaputra.

The suggestion of Goyal may likewise be dismissed. In interpreting the expression we have to keep in our view the following considerations :

(i) It is to be noted that 'Daivaputra' in itself is an independent word and its taddhita form denotes those 'who belong to Devaputra, i.e. Kaniska[3] (The Kusanas used

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1. Raghuvamsa, IV.60.
2. Buddha Prakash, I.C., vol. XIII, p.85.

3. Cf. राधारमण पाण्डेय, अर्थप्रकाशिका, पृ. ६०:
पाणिनि ०/१/८५.

Devaputra as their title).

(ii) Sahi stands for the Persians and

(iii) Sahanusahi for the Sassanians.

Moreover the context does not suggest any particular reference to any king by name. Here we have an enumeration of tribes, viz. the Daivaputras, the Sahis, the Sahanusahis, the Sakas and the Murundas.[1]

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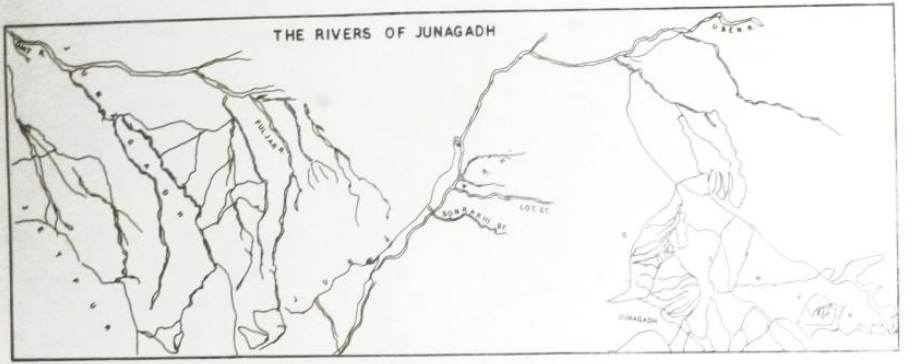
1. No.I, LL.23-24 : देवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि - शकमुरण्डै:
सैंहलकादिभिश्च सम-द्वीप-वासिभि:..... ।


THE RIVERS OF JUNAGADH
PULJAN R.
SONRAKHI ST.
LOT. ST.
U BEN R.
JUNAGADH

APPENDIX - V

The Rivers of Junagadh

The names of the rivers mentioned in the Junagadh Inscription of Skandagupta as issuing from the mountain Raivataka[1] or Urjayat[2] have been disputed. Fleet explains 'Palasiniyam Sikatavilasini' as 'Palasini, beautiful with (its) sandy stretches'.[3] D.C.Sircar takes Sikata to be Suvarnasikata which is the same as modern Sonarekha.[4] R.B.Pandey regards Sikata to be the same Suvarnasikata mentioned in the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman and as identical with Suvarnarekha which flows at the foot of Girnar hill.[5] H.D.Sankalia while discussing the names of mountains Girinagara, Urjayat and Raivataka, and the rivers at Junagadh does not consider these disputed lines of the Junagadh Inscription of Skandagupta. He only discusses Suvarnasikata and Palasini on the basis of the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman I.[6]

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1. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.313,
   L.16 :
   इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गताः,
   पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
2. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.176,
   LL.5-6 : गिरेरूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता-पलाशिनी-प्रभृतीनां
   नदीनां ..... ।
3. C.I.I., III, p.64.
4. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.313, f.n.1.
5. Pandey,R.B., Historical and Literary Inscriptions,p.97,f.n.1.
6. Sankalia,H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, pp.50-51.

Those who disagree with Fleet's interpretation that 'Sikata-vilasini' is an adjective of Palasini and take Sikata to refer to Suvarnasikata, neglect the word Vilasini. Evidently, Vilasini is the name of a third river. The construction is also in plural. The composer of the inscription is naming all the rivers of the area which had gone to meet their husband, the ocean, in due accordance with the scriptures.[1] The Gujarati Sanskrit poet Magha, in describing the Raivataka mountain gives a similar account of these rivers in the rainy season.[2]

In the accompanying map besides the two rivers Ojat and Uben on the sides of Junagadh, we find the river Fuljar and a number of streams, viz. Nonpuria, Sonrakhi, Lotus and Fuljar. Sonrakhi is evidently Suvarnarekha, Fuljar may be the river Palasini and the Lotus may be equated with Vilasini. The river Ojat has some resemblance with the mountain Urjayat.

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.313,

   L.16: इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गताः,
   पलाशिनीयं सिकता - विलासिनी ।
   समुद्र-कान्ताः चिर-बन्धनोषिताः,
   पुनः पतिं शास्त्र - यथोचितं ययुः ॥

2. Sisupalavadha, IV.47.

   अपशङ्कमङ्कपरिवर्तनोचिताश्चलिताः पुरः पतिमुपैतुमात्मजाः ।
   अनुरोदितीव करुणेन पत्रिणां विरुतेन वत्सलतयैष निम्नगाः ॥

The rivers due to the flood caused by excessive rains had combined into one; with the flowers fallen from trees that growing on the banks of these rivers, it looked as if a hand decorated with flowers was stretched by the mountain Raivataka desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, having noticed the great bewilderment of the Sea caused by the excess of rain.[1] Fleet's rendering of the passage[2] does not seem to be appropriate. The line 'aneka-tirantaga-puspa-sobhito nadimayo hasta iva prasaritah' shows that here there is a reference to a group of many rivers and not to one river alone.

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1. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.313,
   v. 29 : अथैक्य वर्षागमजं महोद्भ्रमं,
   महार्णवैर्ऊर्जयतः प्रियेप्सया ।
   अनेकतीरान्तज-पुष्प-शोभितो,
   नदीमय हस्त इव प्रसारितः ॥

2. C.I.I., III, p.64. "(And) having noticed the great bewilderment, caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) Urjayat, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (Palasini), decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (its) banks."

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CHAPTER VI

NAMES OF WOMEN

We have already discussed the names of queens in another context. Here we confine ourselves to other feminine names.

1. Damasvamini (No.56, LL.3-4) : She is mentioned to have raised a pillar in the memory of her dead parents at Rajghat in Varanasi.

The first part of the name, Dama, means a 'rope' or 'girdle'[1] (originally 'bond', from da 'to bind'). But the Amarakosa gives a better explanation which takes us nearer to the original meaning. It explains 'Dama' as 'Sandanam', i.e., a rope tethered to a cow at the time of milking it.'[2] The second part of the name is 'svamini' which means 'a proprietress, mistress' or owner of (gen., loc. or comp.).[3]

The parents might have given her this name out of affection as she was a helping hand in ththering the rope to the

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1. Mac. & Keith, Vedic Index, Part I, p.351.
2. Amarakosa, 2.9.73, p.331.
3. M.W., p.1284, see Svamin and Svamini.

cow while milking it.[1] The name indicates affection by the parents.

2. Devaki (No.13, L.13) : The reference comes in the passage which describes how Skandagupta returned victorious to his mother just as Lord Krsna went to Devaki after killing his enemy.[2] Sewell suggests that the name of Skandagupta's mother was Devaki and he has been followed by some other scholars. According to D.C.Sircar the simile may further suggest that some maternal uncle of Skandagupta actually fought against him in support of his rival and that his mother, possibly not the chief queen of his father, had to experience difficulties for sometime.[3]

Devaki is a patronymic formed by adding 'i' suffix to Devaka, literally meaning 'divine, celestial', who was her father.[4] She was the wife of Vasudeva and the mother of Krsna.[5]

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1. Cf. भगवद्दत्त निरुक्तशास्त्रम्, ३/४ पृ. १४६ :
दोग्ध्येवा
'A daughter is called 'Duhita' as she milks the cow.

2. No.13.V.6.

3. Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.323, note 2.

4. See M.W., p.495, col.2-3.

5. Ibid, col.3.

3. Harisvamini (No.23, LL.1,10) : Upasika (lay-worshipper) Harisvamini, was the wife of Upasaka Sanasiddha who donated money to the Arya-samgha (community of the faithful) at the great vihara (Buddhist convent) of Kakanadobota (i.e., the great stupa at Sanci) for feeding one Bhiksu every day and maintaining lamps in the shrines of the Buddha.[1]

The first part of the name, Hari, stands alike for Lord Krsna, Visnu and Siva. The second part is 'Svamini' meaning mistress. Thus the whole literally means 'one who has Hari as her master'.

4. Padmavati (No.22, L.5) : She was the mother of Samkara, an ascetic, under whose instructions the image of the Jina-vara-parsvanatha was made.

In the inscription we have the un-Paninian use of the locative 'Padmavatau' in place of 'Padmavatyam' but it seems to have been done to suit the metre.

Padmavati is a synonym for Laksmi. In India it has been a popular name for women.[2]

5. Rami (No.28, LL.4,12,17) : She has been mentioned as the wife of Brahmana Nathasarma.

Rami means 'darkness or night'.[3] It may mean 'a woman of dark complexion' or it can be a patronymic from Rama.[4] Monier Williams mentions the form with short 'i' suffix (Rami) but it

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1. C.I.I., III, p.261.
2. M.W., p.585, col.I.
3. Ibid, p.877, col.I.
4. Ibid, p.878, col.3.

can be with long 'i' as well, as we have 'Devaki', a patronymic from Devaka.[1] Chatterji mentions it to be a feminine form of Rama and considers it a naming pattern prevalent among the lower classes.[2]

6. Sabhati (No.56, L.3) : The form of the name should have better been Sabhati. She was the mother of Damasvamini who raised a pillar in her memory.

The name seems to have some relation with the word Sabha.[3] It can be an adjective from the word Sabha combined with 'at' to move. Literally it may mean "one who moves in assemblies".

7. Samadhya (No.31, L.2) : Samadhya is a Prakritized form of the word 'Syamadhya'. She was the daughter of Bhattibhava and the wife of the ferryman Grahamittrapalita.

The first part Sama is a contraction of Sanskrit 'Syama'.[4] Literally the name may mean 'Syamena adhya', i.e., having a dark or swarthy complexion which in Sanskrit poetic tradition was considered a mark of beauty.[5]

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1. Supra, p.

2. Chatterji, S.K., The Origin and Development of The Bengali Language, Part II, p.695 :
"Rami (Rama), s(y)ami (Syama), Bami (Vama, Vami).

3. M.W., p.1204, col.2.

4. Chatterji, S.K., The Origin and Development of The Bengali Language, Part II, p.695 :
s(y)ami (Syama).

5. M.W., p.1094, col.2.

CHAPTER VII

NAMES OF THE TRIBES

There is a fundamental ethnographical problem. Whether the names of tribes were based on the places occupied by them or the places were named after them. There cannot be a general answer to this question. It is very difficult to ascertain the process in every individual case but we certainly find examples of both. Madra may be a land occupied by the Madrakas or Madraka may be named so after a land known as Madra. It is however surprising that the surnames and even the personal names are sometimes said to be tribal names. We have elsewhere discussed the surname Bhadra[1] which is also a personal name in another place.[2] The Mahabharata[3] mentions Bhadras as one of the ganas along with the Rohitakas, Agneyas and the Malavas. The use of the word gana

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1. Supra,

2. Ibid,

3. III, 253.19-20 :

महान् - रौहितकांश्चैवाग्नेयान् मालवानपि गणान् सर्वान् विनिर्जित्य---

on coins bears a tribal import.[1] The name Rohitaka plainly survives in modern Rohtaka, the head-quarters of the district of the same name in the Punjab, 44 miles north-west of Delhi.

Being linked with the Rohitakas the Bhadras lived, as seems very likely, somewhere to their north, presumably in the Upper Gangetic basin. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang describes the river Ganga as Fu-Shui or 'Happiness Waters' that is, the water of religious merit.[2] This Fu-Shui or 'River of religious merit' (the Ganga) was known according to Julien as Mahabhadra.[3] So Julien's Mahabhadra is a close rendering having regard to the merit of the river Ganga, for the word Bhadra is explained by Kern as meaning 'the Blessed'.[4] This favours the suggestion that the people who lived around the Mahabhadra, or the upper stream of the Ganga in the Dehra-Dun-Kumaun regions, were considered as "the Blessed" and consequently earned the name 'Bhadras'.[5]

It is interesting to note from some copper plate grants of the Katyuris of Kumsun[6] as well as from some other inscriptions[7]

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1. John Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, p.LXXIX.
2. T.Watters, On Yuan Chwang, I, p.319.
3. Ibid, p.320.
4. I.A., XXII, 175.
5. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p.24.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid, p.25, note 1.

that the name Bhadra generally stood for the tribal name of a class of people whose hereditary profession was scribing, i.e., the work of a lipikara.[1] In our inscriptions also we find Sribhadra as the engraver of the inscription.[2] It is the name of a merchant who also acts as a scribe.[3]

Before we take up tribal names for our discussion, it is important to discuss the terms 'gana',[4] sreni[5] and kula[6] which occur in our inscriptions.

There is a sutra of Panini 'samgh-odghau gana-prasamsayoh,'[7] which speaks of the political sangha technically known as Gana. Sangha and Gana were used as synonymous words for a republic. 'Panini speaks of the Yaudheyas as a sangha, whereas they refer to themselves as a Gana on their coins, albeit in the post-Paninian period'.[8] In the political sanghas, the power vested in the hands of those ksatriya families who possessed a hereditary right of consecration (abhiseka) while the religious sanghas were based on equality.[9]

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1. Ibid, "It appears that a Bhadra combined the function of composing and engraving an inscription and the term was more tribal and professional than geographical. But a Bhadra seems to have been a writer of plays as well. The Harivamsa refers to one professional dramatist of the name of Bhadra who entertained the sages by his dramatic talents."
2. No.29,L.17.
3. No.33,L.8.
4. No.31, E.I. vol.II, p.210; No.17,L.19.
5. No.16,L.8; No.17,LL.11,16,20,23.
6. No.22,L.4.
7. III.3.86.
8. Agrawala,V.S., India as known to Panini, p.428.
9. Ibid, pp.428-29.

Medhatithi[1] distinguishes between Sreni (guild) and gana and observes that though the members of the former follow the same profession they can act singly also, whereas ganas always act collectively. It appears from Medhatithi[2] that there was a tendency in the period for the members of the guilds to refer their disputes to the king. The guilds did not like this because, as Medhatithi says, it gave the king's officers an opportunity to interfere in their work. 'It would follow from Medhatithi that the hold of the guilds over their members was becoming loose and they could not effectively carry our their decisions against members'.[3]

Mitaksara[4] clings to the occupational origin of a Sreni and explains it as a group of people of different castes, who subsist by the occupation of one caste like the hedabukas (horse-dealers), tambulikas (betel-sellers), kuvindas (weavers) and carmakaras (shoe-makers).

The Smrticandrika[5] and the Viramitrodaya[6] clearly admit the change and explain Sreni as meaning the eighteen low castes such as the rajaka (washerman). The transformation of guilds into sub-castes appears to have gone much ahead even by the time of

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1. On Manu, VIII.2.
2. Ibid.
3. Gopal, L., The Economic Life of Northern India, p.82.
4. On Yaj., II.30.
5. III (Vyavaharakanda), part I, p.40.
6. Vyavahara, p.12.

Bhattopala,[1] who, ignoring the professional basis of the guilds, explains them simply as the corporation of many people belonging to the same caste.

The Vaijayanti[2] also takes Sreni as the term for a body of people belonging to the same caste and profession. In the Kanhadadeprabandha[3] we have a reference to eighteen varnas, besides the four high castes, which establishes clearly the transformation of guilds into sub-castes.

In the Abhidhanacintamani[4] sreni and prakrti appear as synonymous terms. This usage receives support from the fact that Pitamaha,[5] as quoted by the legal works of the early medieval period, gives the number of the prakrtis as eighteen, which we know is also the traditional number of srenis in the Buddhist and Jain texts.[6] It is to be noted that in the early medieval period the guilds did not wield any effective control over their members.[7]

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1. On Brihatsamhita, XXXIV.19 :

   -- बहूनां समानजातीयानां संघः श्रेणी ।

2. 1.179 :

   -- सजातिशिल्पसंहत्यामागन्धः ।

3. I.238, q. by D.Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, p.252.

4. III.v.714 :

   -- प्रकृतयः पौराणां श्रेणयो पि च ।

5. Smrticandrika, p.29; Parasaramadhaviya, III, p.46. See also Svativilasa, p.74.

6. Gopal, L., The Economic Life of Northern India, p.83.

7. Ibid, p.81.

Medhatithi defines Sreni as a body of traders and others who follow the same profession[1] and illustrates by mentioning tradesmen, artisans, money-lenders, coach-drivers and so forth. He[2] implies a closer bond of union among certain professions than those ordinarily covered by the term guild. For these closely-knit associations he employs the term gana and says that they always act collectively (ganasascarinah or sambhuyakarinah). The examples of such bodies cited by Medhatithi are masons (grha-prasadikarah) and temple-priests. He says that the ganas of these people investigate the disputes arising among themselves and appoint Committees to enforce their decisions. We have the mention of such a gana known as Kottiya gana in the Gupta Inscriptions.[3] We see that the word gana has been used in three different senses in our inscriptions :-

(1) Gana meaning 'republic'.[4]

(2) Gana signifying such bodies as masons and temple-priests.[5]

(3) Gana meaning 'number'[6]

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1. On Manu, VIII.2.

2. Ibid.

3. No.31, E.I., vol.II, p.210.

4. No.17, L.19: मालवानां गण - स्थित्या या (तै) शत-चतुष्टये ।

5. Ibid.

6. No. 32, L. 11 :

शिकस्थापके मालव - वंश (गण) - स्थितेः ।
शरद्गणे पंचशते व्यतीते त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽष्टाब्ध्यधिकेनकृपेण ॥

as we have the word Sangha used in three different connotations: multitude of human beings, a Nikaya, i.e. a corporate body and a political Sangha.[1]

In the Trisastisalakapurusacarita[2] we read of srenis and prasrenis. Prasrenis should be taken to refer to the sub-groups into which any particular guild or occupation was divided on the basis of division of labour.[3]

Maity[4] describes guild as of the hereditary nature based on caste and class occupation and refers to the following guilds in our period.

(i) Guild of architects[5]
(ii) Guild of Jewellers[6]
(iii) Guild of oil-men[7]
(iv) Guild of silk-weavers[8]

Speaking about agriculture, trade and different vocations, Varahamihira on a number of occasions forecasts the prosperity and adversity of guilds and the guild presidents in his Brihat-samhita.[9]

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1. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, pp.428-29.
2. I, p.258.
3. Gopal,L., The Economic Life of Northern India, p.84.
4. Maity,S.K., Economic Life of Northern India, pp.155-56.
5. Raghuvamsa, XVI.38.
6. Mudraraksasa, I, pp. 18-20, 28, 30.
7. C.I.I., III, Fleet, p.68.
8. Ibid, p.79.
9. Brihatsamhita, IV.13; X.13; XXXII.18; XXXIV. 19-20.

We come across a term 'kula' in No.22[1] which also needs attention. The political samgha called Gana was composed of various rajakulas or royal families, and the heads of these rajakulas constituted the governing body of that Gana.[2] This is confirmed by the Mahabharata[3] which says that the members of a Gana were equals of one another in respect of birth and family.

The kula basis of the tribes appears to be vitally connected with a number of Paninian sutras dealing with gotrapatya and yuvan descendants. Apart from these names which were Rsi gotras Panini also includes a number of tribal names in the lists dealt with in the Gotrapatya chapter. It is essential to distinguish the gotra-descendants from the yuvan-descendants. In fact in the social as well as the political sphere, the family was the unit of representation, which right was exercised through the head of each family, called Kula-vrddha.[4]

The family basis of Gana polity preserved the hereditary character of its rulership by vesting it in the same families. The number and names of these families comprising the ruling class were carefully preserved as in the case of the Licchavis

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1. No.22,L.4:

   [illegible] - [illegible] - [illegible]

2. Agrawala,V.S., India as known to Panini, pp.431-32.

3. Santiparva, 107.30 :

   [illegible]

4. Ibid, 107.27.

whose number is stated to be 7,707 in Pali literature. The craze for constituting new republics had reached its climax in the Vahika country and north-west India where clans consisting of as many as one hundred families only organised themselves as Ganas, as in the case of the hundred sons of Savitri establishing themselves as a ksatriya clan under the name of Savitri-putras with the title raja applied to each one of them.[1]

Now we shall discuss the various republics and guilds which are mentioned in our inscriptions :-

1. Abhira (No.1,L.22) : They were one of the tribes subdued by Samudragupta. Abhiras lived to the north of the Rajaputana desert. We may also think of Abiravan between Herat and Kandahar which may have been the original home of the Abhiras. In the 3rd century A.D., there was an Abhira kingdom in the north-western Deccan.[2] D.C.Sircar[3] describes Abhira in singular as a member of the Cowherd Community. The tribe can still be traced in the present Ahiras,[4] who in tribal groups, abound largely in the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Nepal and some portions of Rajasthan. They are a band of simple, sturdy

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1. Mahabharata, Vanaparva, 297.58; Karnaparva, V.49; and Panini in the Damanyadi group, V.3.116; Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p.432.

2. Sircar,D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.23, note 7.

3. Sircar,D.C., Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p.2.

4. Ahira being the prakrit form of the Sanskrit word Abhira.

people, mostly cowherds and agriculturists.[1] This tribe[2] is thought to have played a big part in the propagation of the worship of Krsna Govinda[3] in his pastoral aspect.

The Mahabharata[4] places the Abhiras in West Rajasthan where the Sarasvati disappears.

In the first and second centuries A.D. they are located in the country between the lower Sindhu valley and Kathiawar, as is indicated in the 'Periplus' and in the Geography of Ptolemy.[5] The Periplus calls their country Abiria. Abhira generals served in the armies of Saka Ksatraps of Western India in the second century A.D. as is known from their inscriptions.[6] They are also mentioned in the Mahabhasya of Patanjali[7] in association with the Sudras, the Sodrai of Alexander's time, who lived in northern Sind. Throughout the third century A.D., the Abhiras exercised ruling power in northern Konkan and Maharashtra.[8] Vatsyayana[9]

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1. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.79.

2. Basham,A.L., The Wonder that was India,pp.195, 305.

3. Govinda 'Lord of Herdsman' which literally in Sanskrit means 'cow-finder'. It seems to be a prakrit word whose correct Sanskrit equivalent should be 'Gopendra'.

4. IX, 37.1.

5. Mc.Crindle's Ptolemy, pp. 136, 139-40.

6. Mookerji,R.K., The Gupta Empire, pp.25-26;
Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, pp.80-81.

7. I.2.3.

8. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), pp.50-51.

9. Kamasutra (ed. Pancanan Tarkaratna), pp.289, 306 ;
Chaudhuri,S.B., Ethnic settlements in Ancient India,p.45, note 14.

refers to the Harem of the Abhira kings. The Markandeya Purana[1] and the Vayu Purana[2] refer to them as 'Daksinapatha-vasinah' or dwelling in the Southern Country. The Brihat-Samhita[3] mentions them as being under the jurisdiction of Sani (Saturn).

The Jodhpur inscription of Samvat 918,(records that the Abhira people of this area were a terror to their neighbours, because of their violent demeanour.[4] The Abhira robbers are also mentioned in the Skanda Purana.[5] Epigraphic evidence indicates the existence of an Abhira kingdom in the 14th Century in Khandesh.[6]

In the Sahitya Darpana of Visvanatha,[7] it is stated that Abhiri is the language of the Abhiras and Candali of the Candalas. Those who do woodwork can speak Abhiri or Sabri, either of the two. Dandin asserts that the speeches of the abhiras, etc. are termed as Apabhramsa in the Kavya[8] on the

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1. Chap.57, vv.95-48; chap.58, v.22.
2. Chap.45, 126.
3. XVI, p.135, v.31.
4. E.I., IX, p.279) Vide Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India
5. V.I., 247) by S.B. Chaudhuri, p.46,
6. E.I., XXV, p.203) notes 9 and 6.

7. साहित्यदर्पण, व्याख्याकार सत्यव्रतसिंह पृ० ४७२ श्लो० १६३ :

आभीरेषु तथाभीरी ताण्डाली पुक्कसादिषु ।
आभीरी शाबरी चापि काष्ठपात्रोपजीविषु ॥

8. Kavyadarsa , 1.36 :

" आभीरादिगिरः काव्येष्वपभ्रंश इति स्मृतः "

basis of which probably Keith writes : "the Prakrit lyrics passed into Apabhramsa as a result of the activities of the Abhiras and the Gurjaras."[1] We know from the Amarakosa[2] that 'Abhiri' was used to denote 'Abhira woman or the wife of a cowherd.

The Amarakosa[3] mentions Gopa, Gopala, Gosamkhya, Godhuk and Ballava as the synonyms for Abhira and says that the village or place where Abhiras lived is named as Ghosa or Abhirapalli.[4]

In the Kashmirian recension of the Mahabharata we get the readings 'Kabhira' and 'Kabhira' in place of Abhira.[5] These Kashmirian forms may have resulted from an attempt to record an initial glottal opening in the language of the Abhiras. The Kasmiras probably knew the Abhiras at an early date.[6]

Bhattacharya[7] describes the Abhirs or Ahirs as a cowherd caste exceeding 8,000,000, and found almost everywhere in India north of the Narmada. The Abhiras are mentioned as foreigners in the Puranas.[8] Their kings were regarded as vratya and mostly

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1. I.H.Q., vol. XXVII, March 1951 ; "Observations on the sources of Apabhramsa stanzas of Hemacandra", p.19.
2. 2.6.13.
3. 2.9.57.
4. 2.2.50.
5. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, p.67.
6. Ibid, p.67, note 6.
7. Bhattacharya, J.N., Hindu Castes and Sects, p.297.
8. Pargiter, Kali Age, pp.2-3.

sudras (black).[1] In the Mahabharata the Abhiras are called Mlecchа.[2] According to Manu[3] they were the sons of a brahmana man and an ambastha woman, the Ambasthas being of mixed origin and known as the Anava ksatriyas.[4] The Brihatsamhita[5] places the Abhiras in the Southern quarter of India.

Shafer[6] considers them to be an admixture possibly of white Iranian blood with enough Bhil blood to give them a very dark colour and concludes that they were western Anavas.[7]

2. Arjunayanas (No.1,L.22) : One of the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta.

The name Arjuneya is mentioned in the Rgveda as the patronymic of Kautsa.[8] The tribe, associated with the name of Arjuna, existed in the Punjab and the North-West up to the advent of Gupta power in the fourth Century A.D.[9] The word Arjuna in the Vedic literature[10] denotes 'white' and 'white leprosy' and is also an epithet of Indra. But it does not denote a tribe or a human hero.

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1. Pargiter, Kali Age, pp.54-55.
2. Mahabharata, XVI, 7.63.
3. X.15.
4. Chaudhuri,S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India,pp.191-92. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, pp.96-97.
5. XIV, p.120, v.12.
6. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, pp.119-20.
7. For Anavas, see Ibid, pp. 21-22.
8. I.112.23; IV.26.1.
9. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab, p.93 ; Chaudhury,S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India,p.92 ; Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.95.
10. Rgveda,VIII,1.11; Yajurveda,X.21; Satapatha Brahmana,II, 1,2-11 ; V.4.3.7.

The word Arjuna has an unmistakable resemblance with the Saka word erzuna, meaning a 'leader' or 'chief' which is derived from arzi. Analogous to it are the Saka words aljsa, meaning 'silvery' and aljsata, meaning 'silver', that are akin to the Avestan word erezata (silver), the Sanskrit word rajata (silver) and the Persian word arziz (tin).[1] All these words have the original sense of whiteness and brightness, that are also connoted by the word arjuna in Sanskrit. It is highly significant that Arjuna, the hero of the Mahabharata, is said to have borne this name, because he was 'white' and 'pure' in action.[2] All over the Eurasian steppes the nobles were regarded as 'white' and the commoners were considered 'black'. Hence the word for white colour was employed to denote the idea of leadership. This is why erzuna was used in the sense of a 'leader' in Saka languages.[3]

Vedic and Saka both branched from the same parent Indo-European language. Hence many words were common to both. But whereas arjuna in Vedic lost its pristine sense and was only used as an adjective, signifying 'whiteness', in Saka it meant a 'tribe' and a human hero and later on this sense was imparted to

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1. Sten Konow, <u>Saka Studies</u>, p.115 ;
   <u>Kharosthi Inscriptions</u>, Introduction, p.61.

2. Mahabharata, Virataparvan, IV.39.18 :

   पृथिव्यां चतुरन्तायां वर्णो मे दुर्लभः समः ।
   करोमि कर्म शुक्लं च तेन मामर्जुनं विदुः ॥

3. Buddha Prakash; <u>Political and Social movements in Ancient Punjab</u>, p.95.

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3. Buddha Prakash; Political and Social movements in Ancient Punjab, p.95.

this word in India as a result of the impact of the Sakas.[1]

The tribe, bearing the name of Arjuna, was also connected with some people of Chinese Turkestan, whose heroes, and kings had this designation.[2] In the Uighur redaction of the Hidimbavadhas[3] the name of Arjuna occurs in the form of Arcuni.[4] According to Sylvain Levi, this episode of the Mahabharata owed the privilege of entering into the Turkish world to the presence of the name of Arjuna in it, who was regarded as the eponymous founder of the dynasties of some Central Asiatic cases-states.[5]

Panini[6] refers to the worshipper of Arjuna, called Arjunaka, together with the devotee of Vasudeva, called Vasudevaka. This remark implies that Arjuna was treated as a deity at the time of

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1. Buddha Prakash, Studies in Indian History and Civilisation, pp.248-249.

2. Buddha Prakash, 'Central Asia, the Crucible of Cultures', Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. XV (1956), p.54.

3. A part of which has been published and translated by F.W.K. Muller.

4. Muller, F.W.K., Uighurica, iii, 1911 in Abhandl.K.Pr.Ak.Wis. (1910), p.24. Vide Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.94.

5. Sylvain Levi, 'Le Tokharien', Journal Asiatiane (1933) reprinted in Fragments de Textes Koutcheens, pp. 22-24.

6. Panini, IV.3.98 ;
Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p.341.

Panini and his followers occupied a prominent position.[1] The Kasika replaces Auddalakayana of Patanjali by Arjunayana,[2] the name of a tribe nearer to its own time in discussing the meaning of Pracya-bharata (II.4.66).

From the accounts relating to the invasion of India by Alexander we learn that a tribe named Agalassoi (Arjunayana) fought with Alexander.[3]

The Brihatsamhita[4] places the Arjunayana in the northern division of India and describes them as being in the region of Brhaspati.[5]

Ptolemy refers to a people in the Punjab whom he calls Pandoouoi[6] = Pandavas with whom the Arjunayanas may be connected.[7] Arjunayana coins are found in the Mathura region and 'they may be assigned with probability to the region lying west of Agra and Mathura, equivalent, roughly speaking, to the Bharatapur and Alwar states.[8]

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1. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient India, p.93.
2. Agrawala,V.S., India as known to Panini, p.30.
3. Majumdar,R.C., Ancient India, p.105.
4. XIV, p.122, V.25.
5. Brhatsamhita, XVI, p.133, V.22.
6. Mookerji,R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.25.
7. Raychoudhury,H.C., Political History of Ancient India (ed. (5th ed.), p.545.
8. Smith, V.A., Catalogue, p.160.

3. Atavika-raja (No.I,L.21) : It is stated in the inscription that Samudragupta made all the kings of the forest countries his servants.[1] A mention of the forest kingdoms has also been made in Khoh Copper plate inscription of Samkshobha - Gupta Year 209.[2] These 18 forest kingdoms were apparently in Central India including Dahala or the Jabalpur region.[3] We find a reference to the same in the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha.[4] The Vayu and Matsya Puranas (XLV,126 and CXIII,48) read Atavyas which is no doubt the correct reading. Atavi as a city of the Deccan is mentioned in the Mahabharata.[5] The Atavyas were certainly the same as the Atavikas of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and were perhaps aboriginal tribes dwelling in the jungle tracts of Central India.[6] Atavika-raja should be translated as 'forest-kings' or 'kings of forest countries'. We get a reference to Jangalas in the

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1. No. 1, L. 21 : परिचारकीकृत-सर्वाटविक - राजस्य
   In परिचारकीकृत we find the use of च्वि suffix which shows that he made them to become his servants who were not his servants.

2. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965),p.395,L.8 :

   साष्टादशाटवी - राज्याभ्यन्तरं डभाला - राज्यमन्वागतम् ।

3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965),p.395, note 3.

4. E.I., XXXVIII, p.331 : तोसल्यां साष्टादशाटवीराज्यां,

5. Sabhaparvan, XXX, 1176.

6. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.383.

Puranic List of Peoples.[1] Similar terms 'vana-rastra' 'forest-countries' and vana-rajya 'forest-kingdoms' also occur in the Brihat-Samhita.[2] But these countries lay in the north-east division of India, as mapped out by Varahamihira, and they are, at any rate, not the countries referred here.[3]

In the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata, in one line of Sahadeva's digvijaya, Professor Franklin Edgerton changes Atavi to Antakhi, so that the line will refer to Antioch, Rome and the Greeks. Antioch, Rome, and Greece were intimately associated in history and consequently they are still associated in the minds of Western scholars, and hence Antakhi made more sense to Edgerton in connection with Rome and the Greeks than Atavi. 'But it only represents his personal opinion'.[4]

4. Daivaputra[5] (No.1,L.23) : Daivaputras along with Sahis, Sahanusahis, Sakas and Murundas are mentioned to have paid homage to Samudragupta by rendering to him all kinds of service.

The word 'Daivaputra' denotes these 'who belong to devaputra, i.e., Kaniska, i.e., the Kusana rulers. The title devaputra has

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1. Sircar,D.C., Studies in The Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.21.

2. Brihat-Samhita, XIV, p.122, VV. 29,30.

3. Cf. Fleet, C.I.I., III, p.13, note 7.

4. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, p.59.

5. See the Appendix No.IV.

frequently been used as a title by the Kusana kings.[1]

The common belief is that the designation devaputra 'god-son' was copied by the Kusanas from the ancient Chinese imperial title, 'T'ien-tzu', 'son of heaven'.[2] Thomas considers that this title used by the Kusanas must have been borrowed from the Hsiung-nu (a Central Asian Tribe) and not directly from the Chinese.[3] Narain also believes the title to have been borrowed by the Kusanas from Central Asia.[4] The title has been frequently used by the kings in the Kharosthi documents discovered from Chinese Turkestan.[5] As regards the origin of the title, the divinity of the kings has been stressed upon in many ancient empire.[6] The ancient Indian concept for 'Devaputra'[7] meaning

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1. It has been used by Kaniska, Vasiska, Huviska and Kaniska II in their epigraphic records; see Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965). For Kaniska = pp.138-39, 144-45; For Vasika = pp. 149-50; For Huviska = pp.152-53, 157; For Kaniska II = p.154.

2. Thomas, F.W., B.C.Law Volume, part II (B.O.R.I., Poona, 1946), p.305; cf. Mookerji, R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.27.

3. Narain, A.K., The Indo-Greeks, p.50.

4. Thomas, F.W., B.C.Law Volume, part II (B.O.R.I., Poona, 1946), p.305.

5. Nos.422, 500, 572, vide : उषा वर्मा, मध्य एशिया के खरोष्ठी अभिलेखों में जीवन, समाज और धर्म, पृ० ११२ - ११३ ।

6. Thomas, F.W., B.C.Law Volume, part II, p.305 :
In Homer the kings are 'Zeus-born', the title god was born by Ptolemy, VI, in 164-146 B.C., as also by a Parthian Arsakes on the Indian border; earlier Parthian kings (Mithradates II, Mithradates III, Phreates II and III) bore the title 'god-fathered'. In India every king was deva.

7. RV., X, 62.4.

'god-son' is slightly different. It was not used for worldly kings but specifically for a class of distinguished divinities, which in Indian Buddhists texts was specifically used for four regional 'great kings', i.e., regents of four quarters, East, West, North and South who were 'sons of heaven'. In the later Kusana times, the term seems to have denoted the sense of Royal insignia.[1] In a Buddhist text of this period the question is raised 'why kings are called devaputra' and the answer is that before being born as a man, he was abiding among the gods (devas) and that, because the thirty-three gods (each) contributed to his substance, therefore, he is god-son'.[2]

That Daivaputra denotes the Kusanas is obvious, since no other Indian king is known to have been styled 'devaputra'. Though Indian kings were usually addressed as 'Deva', we do not find any evidence of an Indian king referring to himself as deva. The Kusanas did not adopt devaputra as an official title in early times. It is totally absent from their coins, its reading on one coin of Kujula Kara Kaphsa being an error which has been noticed by Thomas after re-examining the coin in consultation with Allan.[3] Kaniska has not used the title even in Peshawar Casket Inscriptions which were officially engraved. It is only

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1. Cf. I.H.Q.,I,p.259: The whole expression Daivaputra-sahisahanusahi corresponds with the full royal insignia 'Daivaputra-maharaja-rajatiraja' of the later Greek Kusanas.

2. Thomas,F.W., B.C.Law Volume, part II, pp.307-319. Cf. Manu, VII.8.

3. Ibid, p.307.

in documents inscribed by Indians that the title 'devaputra' is used for the Kusana kings.[1] The title is used for the first time for Kaniska (known as Candana Kaniska).[2] Maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Kusana of the Taxila Silver Scrool Inscription is generally taken to refer to Kaniska.[3] As rightly observed by Thomas "the devaputrasa of the scrool inscription is the first known instance of the application to the Kusanas of the designation devaputra, which regularly, though not invariably, recurs with Kaniska and his successors."[4]

Thus we do not find the title Devaputra being used by the Kusana rulers themselves but was applied to them by the Indians. Why of all ruling dynasties only the Kusanas were designated as 'Devaputras' is really inexplicable. Thomas suggests two possibilities. It may be due to the fact that the Indians saw some similarity between the figures of the grand Yaksa and those of the burly Kusana kings and the superior title of 'Devaputra' may have appeared to be a suitable appellation. Another possibility is that they found some similarity between the Kusana kings and Kubera(described in India as regent of the north and god of wealth and known as Devaputra in ancient Indian concept of Devaputra which simply means god-son), especially in view of the lavish gold coinage of the Kusanas Asvaghosa refers to the

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1. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), pp.138-157.
2. Thomas,F.W., B.C.Law Volume,part II,p.311. Candana in connection with Kaniska denotes Chen-t'an = cina-sthana, i.e. Chinese Turkestan.
3. Ibid, p.312 ; For the inscription,see J.R.A.S.,1914,pp.973-7; Konow, Kharosthi Inscriptions, pp.70-77.
4. Thomas,F.W., B.C.Law Volume, part II, p.313.

'great king Kanika' as guardian of the northern heaven'.[1] It is also likely that devaputra title may have been due to Sivamahesvara, whom we have seen styled devaputra and who is the sole deity figured on the coins of Wime Kadphises.[2] These facts need further investigation.

Most probably from the Epic Period, Indian concept of Devaputra 'god-son' is linked with kings to give them divinity and not as a title.[3] The Asoka could claim the title only of 'Devanam Priya'[4] meaning 'the beloved of the gods'. Thus devaputra or'god-son' was a superior title given to the Kusanas by Indians. It is interesting to note that the epithet Devaputravat has been used for Buddha in one of our inscriptions.[5]

5. Huna (No.13, L.14) : They are mentioned in the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta in which Skandagupta (A.D. 455-467 A.D.) is stated to have inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Hunas: "By whose (Skandagupta's) two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the Hunas ....."[6]. The

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1. Maharaja-Kanika-lekh, V.47.
2. Thomas, F.W., B.C.Law Volume, part II, p.310.
3. M.W., p.256: Karna as the son of god Surya ;
   Ibid, p.758: Bhima as the son of god Vayu ;
   Ibid, p.855: Yudhisthira as the son of god Dharma or Yama;
   Ibid, p.1288: Hanumat as the son of Pavana or Maruta,'the Wind'.
4. Sircar,D.C.,Select Inscriptions(ed.1965), pp.16-33.
5. No.55,L.2: Devaputravat - one having divine sons (disciples);
   Sircar,D.C.,Select Inscriptions(ed.1965), p.331.
6. No.13, L.14 :

   हूणैर्यूर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कंपिता भीमावर्तकरस्य -

defeat inflated upon the Hunas so decisive that for nearly half a century the Gupta empire was immune from their depredations.[1]

Hunas, also known as Epthalites or Hiung-nu were a Central Asian tribe.

Uigur[2] transcribes the name of the tribe in ancient Chinese in two phonetic forms: one of which is xunu or xunu, the other xunux, xunuq, xunu'. The first part (xun-) of the last form is not in doubt and neither is the u of the last part, the only question is about the change of the initial i of ancient Chinese into y in Uigur before u and in Sandhi, and about the pronunciation of the final consonant.[3]

The first of the above Chinese forms which comes as close to the Hunu as to the Sanskrit Huna is very similar to the Chinese "transcription" Xunu or Xunu, and Avesta Hunu, except the Sanskrit has substituted for the final root vowel 'u' the stem final – a characteristic of the names of peoples in that language. "The Puranas have a form Urna which together with epic Skr. Huna, suggests Indic Hurna, Turkn Xurnu."[4]

We may note here the Tibetan Hor, which corresponds with the first syllable of the reconstructed form Hur-na. The difference

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1. Opecit., Pandey,R.B., Historical and Literary Inscriptions, p.101, f.n.3.

2. Uigur transcriptions of Chinese, Chinese terms from J.J.M. De Groot 'Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit (Berlin, Leipzig, 1921), Vol.I, pp.1 ff.

3. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, p.155, f.n.1.

4. Ibid, pp.155-56.

of vowels may indicate a back dipthong or back vowel between o and u , as Ptolemy's Xounoi suggests, since the Greeks wrote u (y) for Indic u.[1]

Though all the above forms go back to one primitive form, we cannot say the same for the people to whom they were applied. The general opinion is that the Hsiung-nus, Huns, Hunas etc. were Turks. Some scholars consider them to have been a mixture of many tribes, Iranianas, Mongols, and Palecsibirians (ancestors of the Yenissei-ostyaks). Whatever may have been the dominant race or speech was, it can be seen that there must have been several subject people and subject armies in such far-flung empires, necessitating some mixture and mutual influence – ethnic, influence and cultural.[2] Otto Maenchen-Helfen has discussed the whole question on the basis of the evidence of language, history, ethnology, and archaeology[3] and has pointed out that the greater part of the Hsiung-nu vocabulary pointed to Mongol.[4] Later Pelliot considered the same vocabulary and established that the Hsiung-nu and Huns were Turks.[5]

Louis Bazin[6] and von Gabain[7] also reached the conclusion that in the language of the Hsiung-nu there was a high percentage of Turkish words.[8]

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1. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, p.156.
2. Op.cit.,ibid, p.156.
3. "Huns and Hsiung-nu", Byzantion 17 (1944-45), pp.222-243.
4. Ibid, p.224.
5. La haute Asie (1931), p.6.
6. Oriens I (1948), pp.208-219.
7. In Der Islam 29 (1949), pp.244-46.
8. See Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, pp.156-157.

In the second century B.C. the Hiung-nu (Huns) started a movement near the Chinese frontier and succeeded in destroying the Greco-Bactrian empire, in strongly menacing the existence of the house of Arsakes, and in landing crowds of Central Asian invaders within the borders of India. In the latter half of the fourth century A.D., a branch of them, the White Huns, or Hephthalites, flooded the South of Asia; and'about the time when the last legions of Rome shattered on the plains of Chalons,the motley hordes of Attila, the White Huns had begun to tread Sassanian Persia under the hoofs of their horses, and were soon to smash the Indian empire of the Guptas into pieces'.[1]

In 484 A.D. the Hunas killed the Sassanian ruler of Persia. Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. they ruled over a vast empire with their principal capital at Balkh.[2] We know of a Huna-desa placed to the South of the Kama-giri and to the North of Maru-desa, i.e., the desert called the land of heroes. The Harsacarita places the Huna country in the Punjab region practically suggesting the same area.[3]

In the middle of the sixth century A.D., the Sassanian king of Persia made an alliance with Western Turks against the Hunas and smashed their rule from the Oxus by killing their king sometimed between 563 and 567 A.D.[4]

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1. Op.cit., Jarl Charpentier "The Original Home of The Indo-Europeans" , Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. IV, 1926-28, p.165.
2. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.194.
3. Sircar,D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.101.
4. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.194.

We know of Toramana from his Eran Boar Inscription[1] and of Mihirakula from his Gwalior Inscription.[2] These two are generally taken to have been Huna chiefs. There is another inscription found at Kura (Salt range, the Punjab) referring to Rajadhiraja Maharaja Toramana-Shahi-Jau(bla), whom some scholars identify with king Toramana mentioned in the Eran Inscription,[3] but others regard the two as quite different.[4] Here it must be pointed out none of these inscriptions describes any of these kings as Hunas nor contains any reference to the Hunas.

We find an interesting account of Toramana in the Jain work, Kuvalayamala, composed to 700 Saka (= 778 A.D.).[5] Here Toramana is stated to have lived on the bank of the Candrabhaga (Chenab river). His guru Hari-gupta, who himself was a scion of the Gupta family,[6] also lived there.

Both Toramana and Mihirakula are referred to in the Rajatarangini, but there is no mention of their being the Hunas.

It is doubtful whether Toramana and Mihirakula were Hunas or Kusanas. Sir Aurel Stein,[7] Jayaswal[8] and Fleet held that Toramana was a Kusana. But Sten Konow[9] holds that Toramana was,

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1. C.I.I., III, p.158.
2. Ibid, p.161.
3. J.A.S.B., LXIII.186; I.H.Q., XII.531.
4. E.I., I.239.
5. J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 28ff.
6. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.196.
7. J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 203.
8. I.A., XV, 245.
9. I.H.Q., XII. 532.

in all probability, a Huna, as is generally assumed, and not a Kusana. It is not unlikely that the Hunas and the Kusanas were ethnically allied and were later merged into a new nation, which came to be known as Huna in India.[1]

There are several stray references to the Hunas in Indian literature. A sutra-vrtti in the Candra Vyakarana has the sentence'Ajayad-gupta (or Japto) Hunan' as an illustration of the use of the imperfect to express an event which occurred within the life-time of the author.[2]

In the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman[3] a reference is made to the chiefs of the Hunas, but they are not named. The inscription simply says that Yasodharman possessed countries which not even the Guptas and the chiefs of the Hunas could subdue.[4]

The inscription also refers to Mihirakula "who had earlier bowed only to the god Sthanu (Siva) and whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of the arm of Yasodharman in the act of compelling obeisance."[5]

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1. Op.cit., The Classical Age, p.59.

2. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.197 ; Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, p.58.

3. C.I.I., III, pp. 142 ff.

4. Ibid :
   [illegible]

5. C.I.I., III, pp. 146-147; L.6.

With the fall of Yasodharman, which probably took place not long after, Mihirakula again came to the forefront. In the early part of the sixth century A.D. Sakala became his capital.[1] The Gupta king who then occupied the imperial throne was probably Narasimha-Gupta Baladitya. He was temporarily overwhelmed by the victorious raids of Yasodharman, and Mihirakula evidently took advantage of this imperial crisis to extend his power. Narasimhagupta, according to Hiuen Tsang, was forced to the humiliating position of paying tribute to Mihirakula who finally triumphed over his rival.[2]

The defeat of Mihirakula appears to have finally crushed the political supremacy of the Hunas in India who ceased to be even a disturbing element in Indian History.[3] The Puranas place the Hunas in the extreme west, along with the Sauviras, Saindhavas, Sakalas, and Madras.[4]

In the Raghuvamsa, Kalidasa mentions Raghu defeating the Hunas on the banks of the Vanksu or the Oxus,[5] the (pale) faces of whose wives spoke of the bravery of their husbands (who died in the battle).[6]

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1. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.196 ; Cambridge History of India, vol.I, pp.549-50; Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.58.
2. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.199.
3. Ibid, pp.184-85.
4. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 24, 36-37, 38.
5. Raghuvamsa, IV.68.
6. Ibid :

तत्र कूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥

Varahamihira[1] mentions them under the jurisdiction of Ketu and places them in the North.[2]

6. Kakas (No.I,L.22) : One of the tribes who paid homage to Samudragupta. The Kakas are mentioned in the Mahabharata[3] and are associated with the Vidarbhas, a well-known people occupying tracts of territory in modern Madhya Pradesh.[4] V.A.Smith connects them with Kakanada near Sanchi;[5] while the Bombay Gazetteer identifies them with Kakupur near Bithur.[6] They may have been neighbours of the Samakanikas.[7]

7. Kharaparikas (No.1,L.22) : One of the tribes who were subjugated by Samudragupta.

D.R.Bhandarkar[8] takes them to be the Kharparas mentioned in the Batihagadh Inscription[9] of the Damoh district of M.P. Kharpara[10] means a thief, a rogue or a cheat. The name Kharaparika does not occur elsewhere in inscriptions or literature.

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1. Brihatsamhita, XVI.V.38, p.136.
2. Ibid, XIV.V.27, p.122.
3. VI. 9. 64.
4. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.356.
5. J.R.A.S., 1897, pp. 892-9.
6. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.356, note 4.
7. Mookerji,R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.26 ; Tripathi,R.S., History of Ancient India, p.245.
8. I.H.Q., I, p.258.
9. E.I., XII, p.46, V.5.
10. M.W., p.337, col.3.

The Markandeya Purana[1] mentions a tribe called Khara-sagara-rasis,[2] along with the Gandharas and the Yaudheyas; and the Matsya Purana[3] refers to a country named Kharapatha, watered by the river Nalini. It is difficult to say whether Khara-sagara-rasi and Kharapatha had anything to do with the Kharaparikas.[4]

8. Kotas (No.1,L.14) : The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta mentions Samudragupta's capturing a king born in the family of the Kotas.[5] Mookerji equates the Kota-kulaja of the inscription with king Kalyanavarman of the play 'Kaumudi-Mahotsava'.[6] But it is now generally believed[7] that 'the episode of the Kaumudi-Mahotsava has no bearing whatsoever on the early Gupta History'.

The coins of the Kotas bearing their name have been found in E.Punjab, and Delhi, and 'they probably ruled in the Upper Gangetic valley'.[8] Scholars differ in their views about placing the Kotas; some identify it with Kanyakubja and others with Pataliputra.[9]

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1. LVIII,47.
2. A variant reading is 'Svarasagararasi'.
3. CXXI,56.
4. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.356.
5. No.1, L.14 :

   दण्डैर्ग्राहयतैव कोत - कुलजं पुष्पाह्वये क्रीडता --

6. Mookerji,R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.14.
7. Katre,S.M.,and Gode,P.K., 'A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Thomas,F.W. 'The Kaumudimahotsava as a Historical Play', p.120.
8. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), pp.139-40.
9. Ibid, p.140; Goyal,S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, pp.140-41; J.B.O.R.S., XIX, pp. 113, 119.

It is known that Puspapura or Kusumapura was the name both of Pataliputra and Kanyakubja.[1] It must however be noted that the city of Puspa here is connected mainly with Samudragupta and not with the Kota-kulaja,[2] so the location of the city of the Kotas is not to be traced in Kusumapura or Puspapura. It is well known that Candragupta I received Magadha through his Licchavi-alliance and it is possible that Samudragupta enjoyed his youth playfully at Pataliputra (Puspa-ahvaye kridata). So Goyal's assumption that 'Harisena has referred to Kanyakubja and not Pataliputra'[3] is incorrect.

In view of the context of the victory over Kota-kulaja along with the Naga kings Acyuta and Nagasena and with the support of numismatic evidence it may be said that the Kotas somewhere between E.Panjab and Delhi.

9. Kurus (No.22,L.7) : The Kurus, were divided into two branches, the Northern and the Southern.[4] We have here a reference to the Uttarakurus.[5]

The Kurus were one of the most ancient and prominent of the Indo-Aryan ksatriya tribes.[6] In the earliest literature the

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1. Fleet, C.I.I., III, p.5.
2. Ibid,p.12 ; also see Pataliputra in the place-names.
3. Goyal,S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, p.140.
4. Fleet, C.I.I., III, p.260, note 4.
5. No.22,L.7 : स उत्तराणां सदृशै कुरूणां उदंग्दिशा - देश - वरे प्रसूत: ।
6. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.18.

Kurus do not appear under that name as a people. But mention is made of a prince, Kurusravana (Glory of the Kurus)[1] and of a Pakasthaman Kaurayana.[2] The Atharvaveda[3] refers to Pariksit as a king of the Kurus and his son, Janamejaya, is mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana[4] as one of the great performers of the horse sacrifice.

Oldenberg[5] seems to be right in suggesting that the Kuru people, as known later, included some of the tribes referred to by other names in the Rgveda. Kurusravana, shown by his name to be connected with the Kurus, is in the Rgveda called Trasadasyava, 'descendent of Trasadasyu', who is well known as a king of the Purus. Moreover, it is likely that the Trtsu-Bharatas, who appear in the Rgveda as enemies of the Purus, later coalesced with them to form the Kuru people.[6] Moreover, there is evidence that the Bharatas occupied the territory in which the Kurus were later found. Two of them are spoken of in a hymn of the Rgveda[7] as having kindled fire on the Drsadvati, the Apaya, and the Sarasvati – that is to say, in the sacred places of the later Kuruksetra.[8]

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1. Rgveda,X,33,4. It may also mean 'the hearer of (the praises of) the Kurus'. See B.C.Law, Ibid, No.3.
2. RV., VIII,3,21.
3. XX; 127,7; Khil.V.10.
4. XIII.5,4.
5. Buddha, pp.403-404.
6. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, vol.I,p.167 ; Oldenberg, Buddha, pp.406-09.
7. III, 23.
8. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol.I,p.167.

In the Brahmana literature, the Kurus are often connected with the Pancalas.[1]

The territory of the Kuru-Pancalas is declared in the Aitareya Brahmana to be the middle country (Madhyadesa).[2] A group of the Kuru people still remained further north — the Uttara Kurus beyond the Himalayas.[3] It appears from a passage of the Satapatha Brahmana that the speech of the Northerners — that is, presumably the Northern Kurus — and of the Kuru-Pancalas was similar, and regarded as specially pure.[4] There seems little doubt that the Brahmanical Culture was developed in the country of the Kuru-Pancalas, and that it spread thence east, south and west.[5]

The Uttara Kurus, who play a mythical part int the Epic and later literature, are still a historical people in the Aitareya Brahmana,[6] where they are located beyond the Himalayas (parena Himavantam). In another passage,[7] however, the country of the Uttara Kurus is stated by Vasistha Sathavya to be a land of the gods (deva-ksetra), but Janmtapi Atyarati was anxious to conquer it, so that it is still not wholly mythical. It is reasonable

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1. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, vol.I, pp. 165-66.
2. VIII,14. Cf. Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 392-93.
3. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, vol.I, p.168.
4. Sathapatha Brahmana, III, 2,3,15.
5. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, vol.I, p.168 ; Chaudhuri,S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India,p.35; Cambridge History of India, vol.I, 'Ancient India', p.47.
6. VIII.14.
7. VIII.23.

to accept Zimmer's view that the northern Kurus were settled in Kashmir, especially as Kuruksetra is the region where tribes advancing from Kashmir might naturally be found.[1] In Buddhist literature, Uttara-Kuru is very often mentioned as a mythic region, but there are some passages which go to show that there was a faint memory of a country that once had a historical existence.[2]

Some time before the fourth century B.C., the monarchical constitution of the Kurus gave place to a republic, for we are told by Kautilya[3] that the Kurus were 'raja-sabdopajivinah', or 'enjoying the status of rajas' – i.e. all citizens had equal rank and rights.[4]

Shafer[5] shows that only the upper castes of the Kauravas were Aryan, the bulk of the population were probably non-Aryan as is clear from the fact that whereas the Kauravas rallied the support mostly of the non-Aryans, the Pandavas had the support of Aryans and concludes that the Northern Kurus were Mundic.[6]

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1. Maddonell and Keith, Vedic Index, vol.I, p.84.
   Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 101, 102.
2. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, pp.21-22. See the reference to Kurudipa, Dipavamsa, p.16; and the statement in the Sasanavamsa, p.12, that the place of the inhabitants of Uttara-dipa is called the kingdom of Kurus (Kururatthem).
3. Shama Shastri's Translation of Arthasastra, p.455.
4. Ibid, No.I, p.29.
5. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, pp.30-31.
6. Ibid, p.31, notes 2,3.
   Alfred Ludwig first interpreted Kuru as 'red' and later as 'brown'.

10. Licchavis (No.1,L.29; No.4,L.7; No.10,L.4; No.12,L.18; No.13,L.3; No.21,L.5; No.41,L.4; No.48,L.2; No.50,L.2; No.51,L.2; No.54,L.2) :

The epithet 'Licchavi-dauhitra' (daughter's son of the Licchavi) for Samudragupta occurs in all these Gupta records. It suggests the importance of Candragupta I's marriage with the Licchavi princess Kumaradevi. The alliance had no social importance but it was important for political gain by virtue of which Candragupta I (Samudragupta's father) gained powerful position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries. In the Candragupta-Kumaradevi-coins, we have no mention of the Guptas but only of the Licchavis in plural 'Licchavayah (the Licchavis)'. This supports the amalgamation of the Guptas with the Licchavis and we may agree with Majumdar that 'the epithet Licchavi-dauhitra was deliberately given to Samudragupta to emphasise his right of succession to the dual monarchy.'[1]

We also know of a house of the Licchavis at Nepal[2] but the separate reference to Nepal as a tributary provine in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta[3] proves that it was different from the Licchavi kingdom which Samudragupta had inherited from his mother. The Licchavi kingdom of

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1. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age,(ed.1967), p.129 ; Pathak takes the word dauhitra in the technical sense of Putrika-putra who was called dvamusyayana, i.e., a person having dual parentage and possessing dual hereditary rights of both the natural father and the maternal grandfather (J.N.S.I.,XIX,pt.II,pp.140-41); See also Goyal, S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, pp.90-91, note 2.

2. Fleet, C.I.I., III, Introduction, pp.134-36.

3. No.I,L.22.

Kumaradevi may be located in North Bihar with Vaisali (modern Basarh in Muzaffarpur district) as its centre.[1] It was a credit for the astute diplomacy of Candragupta to marry the Licchavi princess as we know, in ancient times the Licchavis of Vaisali had been the rivals of the kings of Pataliputra[2] and that they did not marry outside their area.[3]

The name of this powerful people has come to us in many different readings :

Licchavi, Lecchavi, Lecchai, Lecchaki, Licchvi,

Nicchivi, Lichikki and Lichavi.

Of these the Licchavi has been most commonly used in literature.[4]

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1. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.130.

2. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.332.

3. Ibid, p.315 :

   Smith (Early History of India, 4th ed.,p.295) holds that Candragupta, a local Raja at or near Pataliputra, married Kumaradevi, a princess belonging to the Licchavi clan, in or about the year 308.

4. Yogendra Mishra, An Early History of Vaisali, pp.106-12 ; Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, pp.295-96 :

   Medhatithi and Govindaraja, the two earliest commentators of the Manu-smrti, read Licchavi and this reading tallies exactly with the name as given by Kautilya. Therefore, this form represents the earliest spelling of this word in the Brahmanical Sanskrit literature. It is only Kulluka Bhatta, the Bengali commentator of the fifteenth century, who reads Nicchivi in a verse of Manu (X.22). This was due to a confusion between 'la' and 'na' of the fifteenth century in the Bengali language. Moreover, these letters are frequently inter-changed in our tongues as we know from our common experience.

The earliest mention of this people is in Kautilya's Arthasastra,[1] where they are called Licchavis. Here we read that the corporations of Licchivi, Vrji, Malla, Madra, Kakura, Kuru, Pancala and others were 'rajasabdopajivinah', i.e., the people enjoyed the title of rajas of kings. It is noteworthy that Kautilya distinguishes the Licchavis from the Vrjis though some scholars consider them to be one.[2] H.Pandey[3] says that it appears from the Pali suttas that the names Vajji and Licchavi are interchangeable to some extent. But the accounts of Chinese pilgrims point to a different conclusion. Fa-hsien describes the kingdom of Vaisali where 'Licchavis' were the people of the country. He does not mention Vrji or Vajji. Hiuen Tsang describes Vaisali and Vrji as two distinct countries, and Watters is inclined to doubt the accuracy of his description of the Vrji country.[4] But we know that Vajji was a powerful

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1. Kautilya Arthasastra, ed. R.Shama Shastri, p.455. The Sanskrit Text has [illegible]: The 'ka' at the end of Lichchhavi, etc. is adjectival.

2. Ibid, f.n.1.

3. 'Notes on the Vajji Country and the Mallas of Pava', J.B.O.R.S., vol. VI, pt.II, June 1920, pp.259 ff.

4. Law, B.C., 'Tribes in Ancient India', p.295, note 4.

confederacy of which the Videhas along with the Licchavis, Jnatrikas, Ugras, Bhogas and others were the constituent confederate clans (atthakula). Of these the Licchavis and the Videhas were the most important, and the Licchavis Capital Vaisali was the head-quarter of the confederacy.[1] But Ray Chaudhuri observes: "Vajji was not only the name of the confederacy but also of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis like the Lichchhavis are sometimes associated with the city of Vesali which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy."[2] The Licchavi republic was generally called the sangha or gana of the Vajjis. The Licchavis would not possibly have allowed this name, had they not themselves been Vajjians. In one passage, the Licchavi Mahanama, seeing that a band of young Licchavis who had been out hunting were gathered round the Buddha, is represented as saying, "They (i.e. the Licchavis) will become Vajjians, they will become Vajjians (bhavissanti Vajji bhavissanti Vajji)"! This possibly only means that there was great hope of these Licchavi young men becoming true Vajjians, practising the seven conditions of welfare taught by the Buddha, conditions which endured their prosperity, and leading a more cultured life. Thus the Vajji (Vajjian) appears to be a more dignified term. It might have

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1. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp.25-26, 40 ; Chaudhuri,S.B., Ethnic Settlement in Ancient India,pp.164-65.

2. Ray Chaudhuri, H.C., Political History of Ancient India, 4th Ed., p.101.

originally been given to the tribe which inhabited what is known as Vajjirattha (Vrji-rastra), i.e. the Vajjian country, in Buddhist literature. Later a separation seems to have taken place among the Vajjis and Licchavis, because the Arthasastra (XI.I) mentions the Licchavika and the Vrjika as two distinct republics.[1]

The clan of the Licchavis figures very prominently in the annals of early Buddhism. Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Pali commentator has the following story[2] to tell about the origin of the tribe of the Licchavis : The chief queen of the king of Benares, at the time of her child-birth delivered lump of flesh, 'of the colour of lac and of bandhu and Jivaka flowers'. Fearing the displeasure of the king if he should hear of this, the other queens put the lump of flesh into a casket marked with the royal seal and placed it on the flowing waters of the Ganges. The casket, was discovered by an ascetic, and taken by him to his hermitage, where he cared for the lump of flesh. After the lapse of some time, the lump broke up into two pieces of flesh, which gradually assumed shape, till finally one of them became a boy resplendent like gold, and the other a girl. Whatever entered the

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1. Yogendra Mishra, An Early History of Vaisali, pp.106-112.

2. Gokhale,B.G., Samudragupta, Life and Times, pp.27-28 ; Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient I ia, pp.299-300.

stomach of these two infants looked as if put into a vessel of precious transparent stone (mani), so that they seemed to have no skin (nicchavi). Others said: 'the two were attached to each other by their skin (lina-chavi) as if they had been sewn together'; so that these infants came to be designated 'Licchavis'. We are further told that on coming of age the boy and the girl were married to each other and from this brother and sister union sprang the race of the Licchavis.[1]

The origin of the Licchavis has been a matter of great controversy. They have been represented as Scythians, Kolarians, Tibetans and Persians by different authorities.[2]

Samuel Beal[3] takes the Licchavis or Vajjis to be a branch of the 'Yue-Chi' forgetting that the latter came to India in the first century B.C. while the Licchavis were a highly civilized and prosperous people in the sixth century B.C.

In the opinion of J.P.Hewitt, there are "very strong indications that the Vajjians, who were certainly the earliest settlers in the country, were of Kolarian race who had lived there long before the arrival of the Dravidians and Aryans." The learned writer ignores the existence of the pre-Vajjian Aryan dynasty of rulers at Vaisali.[4]

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1. Gokhale,B.G., Samudragupta, Life and Times, pp.27-28.
2. Yogendra Mishra, An Early History of Vaisali,pp.106-112.
3. Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsang, Intro., p.XXII.
4. Ibid, f.n.1.

V.A.Smith[1] found similarities between the customs of the Tibetans and those of the Licchavis in the practice of the exposure of the dead and also in judicial procedure. And hence he came to the conclusion that the Licchavis, the ruling tribe or clan in Vrji country of which Vaisali was the capital, was really a Tibetan (or Mongolian) tribe which settled in the plains during the prehistoric times. The view has been criticised by B.C.Law, K.P.Jayaswal, H.C.Raychaudhuri and others on the following grounds :[2]

(1). The custom of the disposal of the dead was prevalent among the Vedic Aryans from whom the Licchavis were descended ;

(2). In the case of Tibet we have only three courts as against the seven tribunals of the Licchavis; further we know very little about the relative antiquity of the Tibetan procedure which might very well have been suggested by the system expounded in the Atthakatha.

Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana[3] suggests a Persian origin for the Licchavis holding that the name Licchavi (Nicchavi of Manu,X.22) was derived from the Persian city of Nisibis. There is very little in Vidyabhusana's surmise except a fancied resemblance between the names Nicchivi and Nisibis.Inscriptions

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1. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, pp. 302-4.

2. Yogendra Mishra, An Early History of Vaisali, pp.106-112.

3. I.A., vol. XXXVII, 1908, p.79.

of the Achaemenids are silent about any Persian settlement in Eastern India in the sixth or fifth century B.C. The Licchavi people were more interested in Yaksa caityas and the teaching of Mahavira and the Buddha than in the deities and prophets of Iran.[1]

The Licchavis have been invariably represented as ksatriyas in ancient Indian literature. As the Mahaparinibbana-Sutta informs us, they claimed a share of the remnants of the Buddha's body on the ground that they were ksatriyas like the Buddha himself: "The Exalted one was a ksatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of relics of the Exalted one."[2] We get many other similar instances. We find that both the Sakyas (to whose race the Buddha belonged) and the Licchavis are described as progenies of brother and sister unions. Like the Sakyas, the Licchavis are also described as ksatriyas.[3] Manu speaks of the Licchavis as ksatriyas, though of the Vratya variety.[4] Regarding the Vratyas, Manu says: 'Those (sons) whom the twice-born have by the wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling their sacred duties, are excluded from the Savitri, one must designate by the appellation vratyas.[5]

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1. Yogendra Mishra, An Early History of Vaisali, pp.106-112; Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, pp.303-4.

2. Ibid, f.n.2 ; B.C.Law, pp.297-98.

3. Gokhale, B.G., Samudragupta, Life and Times, pp.27-28.

4. Manu, X, 22.

5. Ibid, 20.

We know that Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, was the very kin of the Licchavis and that he had many followers among the residents of Vaisali, even among the highest officers. Then again, between the sixth century B.C. and 200 B.C., the earliest estimated date of the Manusmrti,[1] the Licchavis had won the good graces of the Buddha as well as of the followers of the religion he preached. During this long interval, when the two great 'heretic' faiths flourished in their country, the Licchavis might not have been particular to the ceremonies and practices that the regulations of the orthodox Brahmanas required. 'Hence we can understand how Manu, the great Brahmana law-giver came to refer to the Licchavis as Vratyas'.[2] But Gokhale[3] takes the term ksattiya in this context to mean representative of political power rather than a specific caste in the Brahmanical hierarchy and from the word vratya infers that they were outside the pale of the Brahmanical civilization.

Scholars have divergent views about the connotation of the word 'Vratya'.[4] Charpentier described the Vratyas, as a band of people not governed by the rules of caste, probably representing the worst elements of Indian society, – the

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1. According to Buhler; the Manusmriti was compiled at some time between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. (Buhler, Manu, Introduction, p. CCVII).

2. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, pp. 301-2.

3. Gokhale, B.G., Samudragupta, Life and Times, pp. 27-28.

4. Banerjea, A.C., Studies in the Brahmanas, "The Vratya Problem", pp. 81-171.

thief, the robber, the drunken one, etc. But Keith rejected his view by pointing out that Manu's reference to the Najanya Vratyas, e.g. Licchavis and Mallas (X.22) has no value for Vedic times.[1] Haver in his article 'Der Vratya' derives 'Vratya' from 'vrata'. Thus the oldest meaning of 'Vrata' is a group of people bound by holy ceremonies, bound by a vow to cult-actions' being derived from 'vrata' which is a vow taken in the service of a god. The Vratinas, on the other hand, 'were Aryans of a more primitive culture and religion, than the orthodox brahmans' , and were organised in cult-unions' and both 'vratya' and 'vratina' being derived from 'vrata' are 'members of the same holy union'. The only difference between them apparently was that the Vratina went to the Brahmana countries to perform the Vratya-work and were paid for it, while the Vratyas acted in their own homeland.[2]

From all these considerations, we can see that the views of Manu and the suggestions of B.C.Law are more tenable. In the Nepal,Vamsavali, the Licchavis are allotted to the Surya-vamsa or solar race of the ksatriyas.[3] This is quite in agreement with the fact elicited from the Buddhist records that they were Vasisthas by Gotra, for we know from the Aitareya Brahmana[4] that the gotra or pravara (family) of a ksatriya is

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1. Banerjea,A.C., Studies in the Brahmanas, "The Vratya Problem", pp.88-89.
2. Ibid, pp.96-97.
3. I.A., Vol.XXXVII, p.79 ;
   Fleet, C.I.I., III, Introduction, p.135.
4. Ch.34, Kanda 7, verse 25.

the same as that of his purohita or family-priest. The Vasistha gotra was, therefore, the gotra of their family priest, and we know that the Vasisthas were the family priests of the kings of the solar race, especially of the Iksvakus.[1]

11. Madrakas (No.I, L.22) : One of the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta. We also know of Madra as a personal name in No.15,L.8.

Madras claimed descent from an eponymous king Madraka, son of Sibi, Ausinara, and were septs of the family of Sivi like the Kaikeyas.[2]

According to Dr.Buddha Prakash 'Bhadra' was another variant of Madra.[3] But this view is not acceptable to us. The Mahabharata[4] mentions the Bhadras, but only in the Bombay recension; the Calcutta recension has Madra.[5] We know that Bhadra and Madra had independent existence, as found in the legend of Bhadra Kaksivati, bride of Vyusitasva.[6] This queen had seven children, three Salvas and four Madras.[7]

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1. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, pp.296-99. Yogendra Mishra, An Early History of Vaisali, pp.106-12.
2. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, pp.81, 115; Pargiter,F.E., Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p.264.
3. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.11f.
4. VI.52.1870.
5. J.Przyluski, Ancient Peoples of the Panjab, p.4.
6. Mahabharata, I.121.4695.
7. J.Przyluski, Ancient Peoples of the Panjab, p.4.

The Candravrtti on Candra[1] informs us that Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakara, Yugandhara, Bhulinga and Saradanda, are the divisions of Salva (or Salva). The word Salva literally means an animal like stag or gazelle which bespeaks of Scythian èrigin.[2] Buddha Prakash connects it with the modern sub-caste Saluja (Skt. Salvaja). Anyhow, we know that Madras were a branch of Salvas who were sons of Bhadra. J.Przyluski[3] considers the Madras to have been a section of the Bhadras on the ground that the former had among their ancestress a queen named Bhadra. Both the Bhadras and the Madrakas are mentioned separately in the Brihatsamhita,[4] the Bhadras with the Salvas in the Madhyadesa (Middle land) and the Madrakas with the Malavas in the Northern quarter.

Nakula and Sahadeva were the sons of Pandu by his wife Madri. The name of their mother Madri suggests their connection

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1. चन्द्रव्याकरण 11,4,103.

उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धरा ।
पूलिंगा शरदण्डाश्च साल्वावयव संज्ञिता:।।

Buddha Prakash connects Yugandhara with modern Jagadhari in Panjab;
Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.110.

2. J.Przyluski, 'Les Salvasa' Journal Asiatique (1929), pp. 312-325.

3. J.Przyluski, Ancient Peoples of the Panjab, p.4.

4. XIV, 2, p.119; XIV, 27, p.122.

with the clan of the Madras.[1] Since Balhiki (Bahlika stands for the Bactrians) was the title of Madri, Madras were of Irano-Bactrian origin; the Madras may represent the Iranian tribe, Mada or Mede.[2]

The Madras were an ancient ksatriya tribe.[3] We do not find their mention in the early Vedic Samhitas but the Vamsa Brahmana (of the Samaveda) tells us of a Vedic teacher named Madra-gara Saungayani ('descendant of Sunga') whose pupil was Kamboja Aupamanyava.[4] Zimmer[5] concludes, with probability, that these names point to a connexion of the Kambojas and the Madras. We know from the Satapatha Brahmana[6] that the Madra country was the chief centre of Vedic learning. We know of a Kapya Patancala amongst the Madras who was a famous teacher of Vedic lore.[7]

The Uttara Madras, the 'northern Madras' are referred to in the Aitareya Brahmana[8] as living beyond the Himalaya (parena Himavantam) in the neighbourhood of the Uttara Kurus,

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1. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.107.

2. See Ibid., p.112;
   Also see M.L.De in I.H.Q., II, 131, who connects them with Media or 'Mad' and its division Azerbijan which resolves into Airyana-Vija (Aryan seed) from its Avestan name Aryavaijam.

3. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.84.
   Also see H.C.Ray, J.A.S.B. (New Series, vol. XVIII, 1922, No.4).

4. Vedic Index

5. Altindisches Leben,p.102.

6. III,7,1.

7. Brhadaranyaka Upanisad, III.3,1; 7,1.

8. VIII, 14.3.

probably, as Zimmer[1] conjectures, in the land of Kashmira. The Madras mentioned in the Upanisads were, like the Kurus, probably settled somewhere in Kuruksetra in the Madhyadesa or 'Middle Land'.[2]

Panini[3] mentions two divisions of the Madras, Purva (eastern) and Apara (Western). In the Brihatsamhita they are mentioned twice; firstly as Madra situated in West in Vayavya Kona,[4] and secondly as Madraka with Malava in the North.[5]

In the Ramayana, we read that Sugriva sent monkeys to the Madrakas and other tribes in quest of Sita.[6] The Madra tribe or kingdom[7] is mentioned in the Bhismaparvan of the Mahabharata (chap.IX) and in Panini's grammar (II,3,73; IV,4,67). The Madras held the Central portions of the Punjab;[8] they appear in

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1. Altindisches Leben, p.102.
2. Macdonell and Keith, <u>Vedic Index</u>, Vol.II, p.123.
3. VII,3,13.

4. Brihatsamhita, 14.22 :

    दिशि पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां माण्डव्यतुषारतालहलमद्रा: ।
    अश्मककुलूतलहडा: स्त्रीराज्यनृसिंहवनखस्था: ॥

5. Ibid, 14.27 (VS.24-27) :

    उत्तरत: --
    अश्मकमालव पौरवकच्छार दण्डपिंगलका: ।
    माणहलहूणकोहल शीतक माण्डव्यभूतपुरा: ॥

6. Ramayana (Griffith's translation), Additional Notes, p.43.
7. Law, B.C., <u>'Tribes in Ancient India'</u>, p.55.
8. Smith, V.A., <u>Early History of India</u> (4th Ed.), p.302.

the Epic period to have occupied the district of Sialkot, between the rivers Chenab and Ravi,[1] or according to some between the Jhelum and the Ravi.[2] S.B.Chaudhuri[3] says that the Madras held the portion in the Doab between the Chenab and the Ravi, possibly comprising even a portion of the country between the Jhelum and the Chenab, and thus abutted on Kaikeya on the West. We get a clue to the inhabitance of the Madras from a verse in the Karnaparva of Mahabharata[4] which states that a Madra, whoh had come to live among the Kurus, is represented as yearning for his return to this native place beyond the Satadru and the Iravati to enjoy the company of charming women.

Sakala (Pali-Sagala, mod. Sialkot) was the capital of the Madras identified[5] with Sanglawala-Tiba, to the West of the Ravi. From the Milinda-panho, we learn that king Milinda (Menander) a Graeco-Bactrian king, who became a convert to

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1. Cambridge History of India, Ancient India, pp.549-50.
2. Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p.185; see also ibid., pp.5-6.
3. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p.116.
4. Mahabharata, VIII,44,17 :

   शतद्रुकामहं तीर्त्वा तां रम्याभिरावतीम् ।
   गत्वा स्वदेशं द्रक्ष्यामि स्थूलशंखाः शुभाः स्त्रियः ॥

5. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 180.

Buddhism, was ruling over the Madda country with Sagala as his capital which, according to a Buddhist lexicon, was one of the twenty ancient cities.[1] The Brahmanical name[2] of the Madra Capital was Sakala mentioned by Panini[3] as Sankala. In the Mahabharata[4] and the Jatakas[5] Sakala is described as standing on the bank of the Apaga in a tongue of land between two rivers, called the Sakaladvipa, which corresponds to the Rechna Doab.

We know from the Mahabharata about Salya, king of the Madras (Madraraja).[6] After severe fighting, and many vicissitudes, the Medra soldiers were killed by Arjuna.[7]

The Madras are mentioned in the Puranas as well.[8] The Visnu Purana[9] refers to the Madras along with the Aramas, Parasikas, and others and in the Matsya Purana[10] with Gandhara, Yavana and others. The letter[11] mentions king Asvapati, of Sakala in the kingdom of the Madras.

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1. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p.115; Milinda Panho, pp.1,2.
2. Ibid.
3. In the Sutra, IV.2.75
4. II.32 : ततः शाकलमध्येत्य मद्राणां पुटभेदनम् ।
5. Kalingabodhi Jataka (Fansboll), No.479.
   Kusa Jataka (Fausboll) No.531, vide Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.114.
6. Mahabharata, I, 1229 ff. vide Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.113, Foot Note 116.
7. Mahabharata, Udyogaparvan, chaps.8 and 19; Dronaparvan, chap.103; Bhismaparvan, chaps.51; 105-6; Karnaparvan, chaps.5-6. Vide Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.58.
8. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.54.
9. 2, 3, 17.
10. 114, 41.
11. Ibid, 208,5.

The Madras, according to the Arthasastra of Kautilya[1] were a corporation of warriors and people enjoyed the title of rajas (rajasabdopajivinah).[2]

Madra women were noted for their beauty.[3] The Jatakas bear ample testimony to the fact that the Madra princesses were sought in marriage by the great ksatriya houses of N.India.[4] The Mahabharata tells us that it was a family custom of the Madras to receive a fee from the bridegroom when they gave their daughters in marriage.[5]

Some scholars identify the Madras with Vahlika (or Vahika).[6] Sakala as a Vahikagrama is also mentioned by Patanjali.[7] From the references in the Mahabharata Vahika, would appear to have stood for the whole of Panjab.[8] The Vahika-gramas of Sakala and Patanaprastha, as referred to in the grammatical works,[9] imply the inclusion of Madra-janapada in the Vahika country.

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1. Shamashastri ed., p.455.
2. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.57.
3. See Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, pp. 112-113.
4. See Ibid, F.No.2, pp. 56-57.
5. Adiparvan, chap.113; Ibid,F.No.4, p.113, F.No.116.
6. Dey,N.L., Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaval India, p.49.
7. II. 294.
8. Chaudhuri,S.B.,Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India,p.117.
9. Patanjali,II,298; Indian Culture VI.128-36. Patanaprastha is the same as Paithan or Pathankot situated at the entrance of the Kangra valley. Vide, Ibid, F.No.1,p.117, F.No.7.

The Madras are known as low, barbarous[1] and sinful people[2]. They are mentioned as base, impure and contemptible.[3] "Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost"[4] and so it is said: "Neither one should create enmity nor friendship with a Madraka."[5] The Rajatarangini also records similar views.[6]

But the advent of the Jarttikas or Jartas (Modern Jats) who spread over the whole of Panjab was responsible for the degeneration of the Madras.[7] The legend of Savitri and Satyavan is connected with the Madra country, for Savitri was the daughter of Asvapati, king of Madra.[8] In the Udyogaparvan

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1. Mahabharata, XII. 65.

2. Ibid, 207; Robert Shafer; Ethnography of Ancient India, p. 143.

3. Mahabharata, VIII.40.21 ff.

4. Ibid, VIII.40.28.

5. Ibid, 40.28,41 :

   नापि वैरं न सौहार्दं पञ्चैन समाचरेत् ।

6. VIII.1531, RT.II, p.120. Also see H.C.Ray in J.A.S.B., XVIII, 1922, p.257, and ff.

7. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, pp.113-14.

8. Mahabharata, Vanaparvan, chaps. 291-8, pp. 809-23, Maharaja of Burdwan's Edition.

the camp of Salya is described as full of warriors, whose strange armours, bows and banners, unfamiliar trappings, vehicles and equipment and local costumes, ornaments and deportment presented a unique spectacle in the country of the Kurus.[1]

In the early part of the sixth century A.D. the Madra country passed under the rule of the Huna conqueror Mihirakula (C.515-535 A.D.) who ruled from Sialkot. The Madras continued to flourish even upto the time of the Pala king Dharmapala in the 9th Century A.D.[2]

12. Malava (No.I,L.22; No.17,L.19; No.32,L.11) : We know Malava as a tribe which was subjugated along with some other tribes by Samudragupta (No.1). No.17 refers the

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1. Mahabharata, IV.8, 3-4.

अक्षौहिणीपतिराजन् बलादादाय पाण्डवः ।
विचित्र कवचाः शूरा विचित्रध्वजकार्मुकाः ।
विचित्राभरणाः सर्वे विचित्ररथवाजिनः ।
विचित्रयोधिनः सर्वे विचित्रास्त्रविभूषणाः ॥
स्वदेशवेशाभरणा वीरा बलमनुत्तमम् ।

2. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 116.

Malava-gana[1] which has been translated by Fleet as 'the tribal constitution of the Malavas in the sense of the event of some formal establishment of the Malavas as a tribe.[2] Fleet fixes it up as B.C. 57-56.[3] Thomas[4] translates the expression as "the continuance (sthiti) of the tribal constitution (gana) of the Malavas" and adds "It was to gana-sthiti, not to gana, that I gave the meaning of 'tribal constitution'; and I did not introduce the idea of 'Continuance'. My amended translation is "the usage of the Malava tribe."[5] Thus the expression 'Malavanam gana' refers to the Malavas as a tribe. No.32 speaks of the Malava-vamsa which has been translated as 'the race of the Malavas,[6] but it would be better to translate it as "the dynasty of the Malavas."[7] It seems that this tribe had established independent rulership and so we find the word 'vamsa' used where the word 'gana'

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1. No.I, L.17:

   मालवानां गण - स्थित्या या (ते) ज्ञात - चतुष्टये ।

2. J.R.A.S. (Great Britain), 1915, pp. 138-40. C.I.I.,III. p.87.

3. Fleet, C.I.I., III, Introduction, pp.65-68.

4. J.R.A.S. (G.B.), 1914, p.414.

5. Ibid, p.747.

6. E.I. Vol. XXVII, p.15 ff :

   विकल्पापके मालववंश: (वंश) कीर्ते: ।

7. Cf. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, p.144; Shafer takes Malava literally in the sense of 'horse-keeper'.

could also be used.[1]

Dr.Buddha Prakash holds that Madras and Malavas were the same, in Prakrit Madra becomes Malla, as 'dra' is changed into 'll'. He identifies Malla with the Malloi of the Greeks and Malava of the Epic. He points out that the sons of Asvapati, king of the Madras, were called Malavas after their mother, according to decree of Yama which shows that Madra and Malava were identical.[2]

But we venture to disagree with the learned scholar . The Brihatsamhita mentions Madraka and Malava separately but side by side as people of the North.[3]

At the time of Samudragupta, the Malavas possibly lived in Rajasthan and West Malwa[4] consisting of Mewar, Tonk and adjoining regions of S.E. Rajasthan.[5] They settled in various localities in Western India after having migrated from the

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1. E.I.Vol.27,No.4,p.16,L.11 :

    विख्यापके मालववश (वंश) कीर्ते: ।
    शरदगणे पंचशते व्यतीते त्रिंशतसिताष्टाभ्यधिके क्रमेण ॥

    "When five hundred and twenty four years, announcing the fame of the race of the Malavas, as pure as the rays of autumnal moon, had elapsed one after another.

2. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.111.
3. Brihatsamhita,XIV.V.27,p.122 : उत्तरत: --

    अम्बरमद्रकमालवपौरव कच्छारदण्डपिंगलका: ।

    It is possible that Madras and Malavas were sons from different views wives of the same king. Later on the kingdom might have been divided in between them. So they were living adjacently but became independent people.

4. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions,(ed.1965), pp.265-66,note 4.
5. Majumdar,R.C., The vakataka-Gupta Age,(ed.1967), p.142.

Panjab where they had fought with Alexander on the lower banks of Ravi.[1] Their original home was in Jhang District, Panjab.[2] Subsequently they became the inhabitants of Malwa and the Vikrama era derived its original appellation from them.[3] That the Malavas had migrated to the Jaipur region (Rajasthan) from the Punjab is supported by the fact that the legend on some Malava coins found in Rajasthan reads from right to left as in Kharosthi, which was prevalent in the Panjab and the north-west from very early times.[4] The Sikhs of Ferozpur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotala are still known as Malava Sikhs, probably, because these regions were populated by the Malavas in ancient times.[5] Malava and Malavaka are also to be differentiated, the former is Malava proper while the latter is lesser Malava with the diminutive suffix 'ka'.[6]

Malava is the same as Malloi of the Greeks.[7] Panini does not mention them by name, but his sutra, V.3.117 speaks of 'ayudhajivi samghas', or tribes living by the profession of arms, and the Kasika says that amongst these samghas were the

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1. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age(ed.1967),p.142.
2. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965),p.169,note 6; Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, pp. 60-61.
3. Ibid,p.91,note 6; I.A., Vol.XX, p.404.
4. Op.cit., Tribes in Ancient India, p.62.
5. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.111.
6. Ibid, F.No.1, p.65.
7. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p.455.

Malavas and Ksudrakas.[1] The Malava tribe is actually mentioned in the Mahabhasya of Patanjali.[2]

The Mahabharata couples the Malavas with the Trigarttas,[3] as well as with the Sivis and Ambasthas.[4] But soon they migrated southwards and settled somewhere in Rajasthan where we find them at the time of Samudragupta.[5] Many coins found at Nagar, 45 miles north of Kota, have the legend. "Malavanam Jayah" (victory of the Malavas) in letters belonging to the period from B.C.250 to 250 A.D. According to Cunningham these coins show that the existence of the Malavas as a recognised and important clan, long before their tribal constitution led to the establishment of their era.[6] The Malavas came into conflict with Nahapana's son-in-law Usavadata who subdued them.[7]

According to the Puranas[8] the Malavas were associated with the Saurastras, Avantis, Abhiras, Suras, and Arbudas, and dwell along the Pariyatra mountains. Thus they seem to have occupied other territories besides the Panjab or Rajasthan.

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1. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.60.
2. IV.1.68.
3. Dronaparvan, chap.10,p.17
4. Sabhaparvan, chap.32, p.7
5. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.62.
6. C.A.S.R., Vol. VI, 1871-3, pp. 72 ff. vide Ibid.
7. Mookerji, R.K., The Gupta Empire, pp.24-25; E.I., vol. VIII, p.44.
8. Bhag. XII,1,36; Vishnu, Bk.II, Chap.III; Brahma, Chap.XIX, Sloka 17.

Pargiter points outt that even according to the Puranas the Malavas lived in a 'mountainous' country, and were nowhere near present Malwa. Malva kings were vratyas and mostly sudra in the Puranas.[1]

The Bhismaparvan of the Mahabharata mentions the western (praticya) and northern (udicya) sections of the Malavas.[2] But the Ramayana locates the Malavas in the east.[3] Kamasutra's commentator Jayamangala, who flourished later than the fourteenth century, says that Avantika, which is identical with Ujjayini-desa, is apara-Malava.[4] This has led some writers to suggest that Malava proper is Dasarna. But Jayamangala's geographical knowledge was not perfect.[5] His remark on Malava is to be rejected as it runs counter to earlier authorities. Rajasekhara mentions Malava, Avanti and vidisa, and the Manjusri mentions Malava, vidisa and Dasarna side by side.[6] Modern Malawa is the region around Ujjayini and Bhilsa. The influence of the Malavas in the Mandasor region is proved by the fact

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1. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, p.144; Pargiter, Kali Age, pp.54-55.

2. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.111.

3. The Ramayana (Kisk. Kanda, Canto XLII). See Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.63, F.No.2.

4. Vanga Lauhityat purvena/...../Avantika Ujjayini desa bhavah/ta evapara Malavyah.

5. He places Vanga to the east of the Lauhitya.

6. 'Yadavaprakasa' on the Ancient Geography of India , I.H.Q.; XIX, p.222 ; Kavyamimansa,ed. T.G.Sastri, p.9.

that they could impose their tribal era upon the Mandasor princes.[1]

The Harsacarita of Bana refers to the 'wicked Malava king' generally identified with Devaputra, who killed Grahavarman Maukhari, but was himself defeatedd by Rajyavardhana. B.C.Law places the kingdom of Devaputa between Prayaga and Bhilsa which is identical with Purva-Malava.[2]

Thus the Malavas originally belonged to Jhang District in Panjab (now in West Pakistan), from where they spread all over Panjab and by the time of Samudragupta had migrated to Rajasthan. In the period after about 550 A.D. they seem to have migrated further to the east and covered the region from Bhilsa (Eastern Malwa) to Prayag.[3] During the rule of the Palas of Bengal they seem to have migrated still further east; for the copper plates of the Pala kings (excepting Dharmapala), refer to the Malavas as mercenary troops in their army.[4]

The name of the tribe survives in the modern province of Malwa (a transformation of the word Malava), and in the Brahmana castes called 'Malavis' or 'Malavikas'. They are the Brahmanas of Malava proper and the adjoining country, but are found also in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.[5]

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1. Mookerji,R.K., The Gupta Empire,p.25; also see Select Inscriptions, p.91, note 6; Tribes in Ancient India,p.64, for Western and Eastern Malava

2. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.64.

3. Ibid, op.cit.,p.64.

4. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.65.

5. Ibid, op.cit.

12. Mlaccha (No.14,L.4) : According to Sircar[1] Fleet conjectures the reading to be Mlaccha. The last few letters in line 4 after 'ni' are not legible. So how Fleet could take this reading without putting any doubt is really surprising. Mlecchas were amongst the enemies defeated by Skandagupta in this inscription (No.14). The war with the Mlecchas probably refers to his fight with the Hunas which is specifically referred to in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription. But whether the Mlecchas are the same as Hunas or were a different tribe, both the records (No.13, No.14) claim that Skandagupta completely defeated these enemies.[2] The fact that in both the inscriptions, the reference to the fight with the Hunas and Mlecchas is preceded by a reference to the falling fortunes of the family supports the identification.

D.C.Sircar[3] is of the view that Mlaccha is the name applied to the Muhammadans and other foreigners. In the Sanskrit language originally there does not appear to have been any general term for a foreigner. But as the Dasa, Dasyu, Barbara, and Mlaccha became more or less absorbed in Aryan civilization and the original specific meaning of these terms was no longer remembered, these words came to be used for any foreigner.[4]

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions(ed.1965),p.309, f.n.3.
2. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed. 1967),p.163.
3. Sircar, D.C., Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p.203.
4. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, p.12, f.n.1.

Mlecchа[1] occurs in the Satapatha Brahmana[2] in the sense of a barbarian in speech. Here the Brahmana are forbidden to use barbarian speech. The example[3] given of such speech is "he' lave", explained by Sayana as "he' rayah", "ho, foes". The barbarians referred to were Aryan speakers, though not speakers of Sanskrit, but of a Prakrit form of speech.[4]

An ancient tradition regards the Andhras, Pulindas and Sabaras as dog-eaters or Mlecchas.[5] The Jain Prajnapana similarly records two divisions of the peoples of India; Milikkha and Arya, and enumerates 53 peoples in the former group, some of which are Saga, Javana, Sabara, Vavvara, Hona, Romaya, Parasa and Khasa.[6] In the Manu-smrti, the name Mlecchа

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1. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol.II, p.161

2. iii,2,1.24

3. iii, 2.1.23

4. Weber, Indian Literature, 180; Cf. Keith, Aitareya Aranyaka, 179, 180, 196.

5. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p.235

6. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p.132; I.A., XX, p. 374

is employed to denote all the fallen members of the Aryan stock. The reference to the Mlecchas in other earlier texts generally denotes the Kiratas, Cinas and other mountain tribes, and was applied without distinction to all trans-Indus casteless races; the Mahabharata (VI.9.65) states that the Mlecchas dwelt in the Yavana, Cina and Kamboja countries.[1] In the 'Life' of Hiuen Tsang, all places to the north of Langham district have been described as Mi-li-ku, i.e. frontier or Mleccha lands.[2]

The Siddhanta Kaumudi[3] describes Ksudhunas as Mlecchas. The Ramayana[4] refers to the Mlecchas as a tribe. The Rajatarangini[5] says that the Mlecchas issued forth from the valleys adjoining the Himalayas. Kautilya refers to Dvadasagrama which was situated in the Himalayas and inhabited by the Mlecchas.[6] The Mahabharata[7] shows that the coastal regions were the favourite resort of the Mlecchas and that they were dreadful.

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1. Chaudhuri,S.B., <u>Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India</u>,p.132; I.A., XX, p.374.
2. Beal,S., <u>Life of Hiuen Tsang</u>, p. 57.
3. Basu,S.C., The Unadi suffixes, p.234.

   338/ क्षुधिपिशिमिथिभ्यः कित् ।३।५५।

   क्षुधुनो म्लेच्छजातिः ।
4. iv,43,11.
5. VIII, 2762-64; XI, p.217; Cf. Harivamsa, 11,57,20 : Mlecchahaimavatastatha.
6. R.Shamasastry, <u>Arthasastra of Kautilya</u>, p.80, f.n.10.
7. II.32.16; II.34.10 :

   सागरद्वीपस्थान् म्लेच्छान् परमदारुणान् ।

In the Kathasarit-sagara[1] they are connected with Sindh. The Mahabharata[2] describes the Mlecchas as being impure because they were of bovine extraction.[3] They were fierce and cruel. Varahamihira[4] places them in the West and says that they were disrespectful. They come under the jurisdiction of Mangala graha[5] and are described in the region of Rahu graha.[6] According to the Kathasarit-sagara the Mlecchas killed brahmanas, interfered with sacrifices, and carried off the daughters of hermits.[7] It is stated in the Puranas that the seven Himalayan rivers pass through the Mlecchа countries.[8] We get references to Mlecchа (verse 24), mahamlecchа (verses 28, 30) and Mlecchа-marga (verse 31) in the account of fifty-six countries given by the Saktisangama Tantra.[9] In the late Buddhist chronicle the Arya-manjusri-Mula-Kalpa, the Mlecchas frequently appear as the companions of robbers.[10]

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1. Tawney, C.H., Trans., I, p.151.
2. Ed. by MM. Haridas Siddhantabagis (Calcutta), VII,80,42, cf. I, 72, 15.
3. Mahabharata (Bangavasi ed.), VI, 9, 65.
4. Brihatsamhita, XIV, V,21, p.121 :

   निर्मर्यादा म्लेच्छा ये पश्चिमदिङ्निवासिनस्ते च ॥
5. Brihatsamhita, XVI.V.11, p.131.
6. Ibid, V.35, p.135.
7. Kathasarit-sagara, 11, p.564.
8. Sircar,D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.60.
9. Ibid, pp. 76-77.
10. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India,p.133.

In medieval inscriptions, the name Mlecchа has been applied without any distinction to all foreigners.[1] The Mlecchа army of the Gwalior Prasasti of Bhoja consisted of the Arabs.[2] The Mlecchas of the inscriptions of the medieval period refer to Muhammadans and the people of Baluchistan.[3]

14. Murundas (No.I,L.23) : Murunda is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta along with the terms Daiva-putra, Shahi, Shahanushahi and Saka as one compound expression.[4] Fleet takes Sakas and Murundas as two separate tribes. They were one of the foreign potentates who came of their own accord to offer allegiance to Samudragupta.

According to Sten Konow 'murunda' is the later form of a Saka word meaning 'lord' or 'master'. The term 'Saka-Murunda' therefore possibly stands for those Saka lords or chieftains who were ruling in the regions of Surastra and Ujjain at the time of Samudragupta.[5]

But we find in the Khoh plates of Maharaja Sarvanatha the names 'Murundadevi'[6] and Murundasvamini[7] which shows that Murandas was the name of a tribe and not a title.

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1. Chaudhuri,S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, pp. 132-33.
2. E.I., XVIII, p.101, VS.4.
3. E.I., XXV, p.222, VS.18; E.I., XXVI,p.92; E.I.,XII,p.200.
4. देवपुत्र - शाहि - शाहानुशाहि - शकमुरुण्डै: सैंहलकादिभिश्च ।
5. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.94, note I.
6. Fleet, C.I.I., III, No.28, L.6, p.127
7. Ibid, No.29, L.6, p.131; No.31,L.6, pp.136

On the basis of Khoh plates, Smith[1] suggested that "the Murundas may possibly have been settled in the hill country of Riwa along the Kaimur range or more probably further south in the Vindhya or north Dekkan or possibly in the Chhotanagapur."

According to R.K.Mookerji,[2] the people called here as the Murundas are to be distinguished from the Sakas and may be identified with the Kusanas, as earlier suggested by Sten Konow.[3]

We know that the term Daivaputra in the inscription has been used to refer to the Kusana kings, and Sakas are mentioned separately. So we cannot equate Murundas with the Kusanas as suggested by R.K.Mookerji.

Some scholars regard Murunda as the name of a powerful foreign tribe, ruling in the upper Ganges valley.[4] According to the Chinese authority, the Capital of Mecu-lun (a word equated with Murunda) was 7,000 li from the mouth of the Great River, which was undoubtedly the Ganges. Allan is, therefore, not right in suggesting that the Chinese description of the capital refers to Pataliputra.[5] Jayaswal took Saka-Murunda

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1. I.A., pp.192, 257-60.
   Also see M.S.Pandey, The Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar, pp.109-10.

2. Mookerji,R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.28.

3. E.I., XIV, 292.

4. Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta dynasties and of Sasanka, king of Gauda (in the British Museum) by John Allan, London, 1914, p.XXIX.

5. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967),p.136,note 2.

to denote the smaller Saka rulers like the Shalada, Shaka and the Gadahara chiefs as well as the Western satraps.[1]

In the Abhidhana-Cintamani[2] and the Vaijayanti[3] the Lampakas are identified with Murandas. The Lampakas are the same as the Lambatai of Ptolemy.[4] The Puranas,[5] mention Lampakas, the people who were residing in Lampaka, the modern Laghman in Afghanistan. Rajasekhara seems to be referring to Lampaka as Limpaka.[6]

The Murundas seem to be a foreign tribe. Murunda is clearly a non-Aryan word and can have no Aryan derivation.[7]

Ptolemy (2nd cent.A.D.) mentions the Murundas for the first time under the name Morcundai and places them on the western border of the 'Gandaridai'. They seem to have occupied an extensive territory, probably the whole of North-Bihar on the east of the Ganga, as far as the head of the delta. They had six important cities, all to the east of the Ganga : Boraita, Koryagaza, Kondota, Kelydna, Aganegora and Talarga. These places are difficult to identify but to Saint-Martin Kelydna appeared to have some relation with Kalinadi or

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1. J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p.210.

2. IV,26. Lampakastu Murundah syuh.

3. The Vaijayanti of Yadavaprakasa, ed. by Gustav Oppert, p.37, V.25.

4. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.93.

5. Sircar,D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.26.

6. Kavyamimansa,94. Vide Yadavaprakasa on the Ancient Geography of India, I.H.Q., XIX, p.214.

7. Prakritic and Non-Aryan strata in the Vocabulary of Sanskrit, pp.65-71; Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, Patna, 1926-28 : Prof. Woolner provides us with a large number of words of non-Aryan origin.

Kalindi river, and Aganagora with Aghadip (Agradvipa) on the eastern bank of the Ganges, a little below Katwa.[1]

According to Cunningham, the name of the Murundai is still preserved in the country of the Mundas, a hill tribe scattered over Chhota-Nagapur and Central India.[2] But M.S.Pandey[3] opposes the view on the ground that the Murundas dwelt in the northwest with other foreign tribes. The evidence is strong enough to show that the Murunda had not spread so far to the east as to occupy the Chhota-Nagapur region. However barbarous and pastoral the Murundas might have been before their immigration into India, when they held the sceptre in their hands they must have been endowed with the quality and capacity to rule over a people who were highly civilized. Such a race could hardly have sunk to a position so low as that of the Mundas of the modern times. Moreover, the Mundas are a dominant division of the aboriginals of the Chhota-Nagapur region. Had they been the descendant of the Murundas, we should have found them in other parts of Central India also, and not confined to this small region so far from their place of origin.[4]

M.S.Pandey[5] disagrees with the Puranic account on the basis that many discrepancies have crept in owing to the mistakes of the copyists.

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1. Mc.Crindle, Ptolemy's Ancient India, pp.215-6. See Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.93.
2. Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.93.
3. Pandey, M.S., The Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar, pp.109-110.
4. We know of a town named Morinda in Panjab which has some resemblance with the word Murunda and it may point out that the Murundas sometimes resided here.
5. Pandey, M.S., The Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar, pp. 109-110.

15. Prarjunas (No.1,L.22) : A tribe subdued by Samudragupta who are said to have obeyed his imperial commands and paid all kinds of taxes. Vincent Smith[1] places the Prarjunas in the Narasimhapur district of the Central Provinces, but a more plausible location is Narasimhagarh in Central India,[2] inasmuch as three other tribes which are coupled with Prarjunas, the Sankanikas, Kakas and Kharaparikas, seem to have occupied regions more or less within the bounds of Central India.[3] The tribe, associated with the name of Arjuna, existed in the Panjab and north-west before the advent of Gupta power in the fourth century A.D.[4] Kautilya knows of a people called Prajjunaka (Prarjunaka).[5]

16. Pusyamitras (No.13,L.11) : The Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription[6] records Skandagupta's victory over a powerful enemy called the Pusyamitras, who possessed a strong army and a rich treasury: he (Skandagupta) placed (his) left

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1. J.R.A.S., 1897, p.892.

2. I.H.Q. Vol.1, p.288.

3. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.95.

4. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.93.

5. R.Shamasastri, Kautilya Arthasastra, 111, 72, p.194.

6. No.13.

foot on a foot-stool which was the king (of that tribe himself).[1] H.R.Divekar suggested the reading Yudhy-amitran in place of Pusyamitran. But, as pointed out by R.D.Banerji,[2] the proposed reading is impossible.

There are several views about the identification of the Pusyamitras.

(i) Fleet identified them with the people mentioned in the Puranas as Patumitras and located them on the Narmada.[3]

(ii) V.A.Smith[4] regarded them as a people of the North.

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1. No.13, LL. 10-11 :

   समुदित - बल - कोशा (न्पुष्यमित्रांश्च) (जि) त्वा
   क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितो वामपाद: ।

2. Age of the Imperial Guptas, p.45 (C.I.I., III, p.55,note 2). Fleet also certifies the reading Pusyamitra, which is the correct form according to Prof. Weber also (Sanskrit Literature, p.223, note 237). Jagannath in his article 'The Pusyamitras of Bhitari Pillar Inscription' -- I.H.Q., vol. 22, No.4, Dec. 1946, p.112 writes :

   "I have myself examined the inscription on the original stone, and in my opinion while the first syllable may be 'pu' or 'yu', the next syllable cannot be 'dhya'.

   Over the subscript 'y' there are clear traces of a square form. It is not cylindrical, in shape, as would be the form of 'dh'. It can only be 'p' or 's'. But as 'p' makes an impossible word 'pupya' the choice is evidently restricted to 's' and we get 'pusya'. Mr.Divekar's suggestion is thus disposed of.

   We also know of the early king Pusyamitra Sunga, a brahamana general of Brhadratha the Mauryan king who was a contemporary of Patanjali (Fleet,C.I.I.,III,p.55,note 2) which bears out the Prakrit form 'Pusamitta' in the passages given by Dr.Buhler from the Prakrit Gathas (Ind.Ant.vol.II,p.362 f).

3. I.A.1889, p.228.

4. Early History of India (4th ed.), p.326.

(iii) Hoernle believed that they were the same as the Maitrakas.[1]

(iv) R.D.Banerji[2] regarded them as the first wave of the Hunas.

(v) N.K.Bhattasali has suggested that the Pusyamitras were the descendants of king Pusyavarma of Assam.[3]

He considers that a pun (slesa) has been used for "the descendants of Pusyavarma of Assam who had so long been mitras or friends of the Guptas, but had changed into foes by their desire for conquest and had invaded the Gupta empire from the east and made it totter." But as remarked by D.C.Sircar, "there is no grammatical lexicographical, or literary support' for this interpretation of the name Pusyamitra."[4]

Bhattasali thinks that Mahendravarma, whom he assigns to the period 450 to 490 A.D., who performed two horse-sacrifices must have been powerful enough to launch an attack on the Gupta empire in the reign of Skandagupta.

We know that the definite limits of Skandagupta's reign are from 455 A.D. to 467 A.D. The period of the rule of Mahendravarma however, cannot be so definitely fixed because we do not possess any dated records of his reign. As a matter of

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1. J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 126.
2. Age of the Imperial Guptas, p.46.
3. I.H.Q., XXI, p.24f.
4. I.H.Q., XXII, No.4, Dec.1946, p.113.

fact the entire chronology of the kings of Assam can be settled approximately only by means of synchronisms and rough calculations. The attack on the Gupta empire by the Varmans of Assam in the reign of Skandagupta is an impossibility.[1]

The Pusyamitras cannot be a branch of the Hunas as held by R.D.Banerji. The Hunas have been mentioned separately in the Bhitari Inscription.[2] "By whose (Skandagupta's) two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the Hunas". Hoernle's view that the Pusyamitras were the same as Maitrakas who some years later under the leadership of Bhatarka established themselves in Valabhi probably with the help of the Huna ruler Toramana";[3] is also not acceptable as the Maitrakas remained subservient to the Imperial Guptas from the time of Bhatarka to that of Dronasimha.[4] Therefore they cannot be the same as Pusyamitras who rebelled against Skandagupta.

The Puranas mention a people called Pusyamitras, whose rule commenced after the end of the dynasty of the Vindhyakas. In the Visnupurana MSS consulted by Prof. Wilson we have the

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1. Jagannath, Loc.cit, pp. 113-115.

2. No.13, L.15 :

   [illegible] ।

3. J.R.A.S., 1909, p.126, previously he held that Bhatarka had beaten back Toramana, J.A.S.B., 1889, pp. 97-98.

4. I.C., V, p.407 ff.

following statement: "and Puspamitras, and Patumitras and others to the number of thirteen will rule over Mekala."[1] Prof. Wilson has added the following note, "It seems most correct to separate the thirteen sons or families of the Vindhya princes from these Bahlikas and then from the Pusyamitras and Patumitras who governed Mekala, a country on the Narmada."[2]

A similar statement is to be found in the Vayupurana, according to which 'the Pusyamitras and Patumitras are grouped with the rulers of Mekala, whose seven kings have not been named.[3]

The mention of Vindhyakas, evidently a people of the Vindhya region, and of Mekala, points to the south rather than to North. So the view of V.A.Smith that the Pusyamitras were a people of the North is not acceptable.

Thus the view of Fleet that the Pusyamitras are to be placed in Central India somewhere in the country along the banks of the Narmada, seems to be most reasonable.[4] This is

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1. Wilson's translation of the Visnupurana, Vol.IV, pp. 212-13.

2. Ibid, p. 215.

3. I.H.Q., XXII, pp. 115-116 :

   पुष्पमित्रा भविष्यन्ति पटुमित्रास्तथैव च ।
   मेकलायां नृपाः सप्त भविष्यन्तीह सप्तवै ॥

4. I.A., 1889, p. 228.

supported by Numismatic evidence, a hoard of coins brought to light by D.B.Diskalkar,[1] from the village of Bamnala, 24 miles to the south of the Narmada, indicates that there was a serious disturbance of peace in the vicinity of Mekala, in the middle of the fifth century A.D. and we may connect it with the rising of the Pusyamitras[2] in that region.

17. Sahanusahi[3] (No.1, L.23) : Sahanusahis are also mentioned to have paid homage to Samudragupta along with other tribes. The Sahanusahis are to be identified with the Sassanids or the Sassanian kings. The title 'sahanusahi (sahan-sah) has frequently been used by the Sassanian kings.[4] The contemporary Sassanian emperor was Shahpur II (309-379 A.D.).[5] The Sassanians are known to have been the rulers of Persia from A.D.211 to 651.[6] According to tradition the dynasty is named after its founder Sassan. His son and successor Papaka, seized power by a coup d'etat against his suzerain, the Parthian king and his accession was the starting point for a new era (A.D.208).[7]

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1. J.N.S.I., Vol.V, pp.135 ff.
2. "The Pusyamitras of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription", I.H.Q., Vol. XXII, No.4, Dec.1946, p.117.
3. See the Appendix No. IV.
4. I.C.,Vol.XIII,p.85; Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age, (1967),pp.17-18.
5. Buddha Prakash, I.C.,Vol.XIII, 'The Political Geography of India on the eve of Gupta Ascendency',p.85; Ghirshman,R., Iran, p.296.
6. Fowler,H.W., and Fowler,F.G.; The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, p.1096.
7. Ghirshman,R., Iran, p.290.

Goyal[1] confuses the Sassanians with the Parasikas of Kalidasa. But they were different from the Parasikas. The Sassanians had founded a powerful kingdom in Persia, but they had not yet conquered the whole of Persia.[2] The Parasikas of Kalidasa were the Sahis.[3] Though the possibility of a Kusana-Sassanian coalition may not be ruled out it seems that at the time of Samudragupta,[4] three kings the Daivaputra (the Kusanas), the Sahi (the Persians or the Parasikas of Kalidasa), and the Sahanusahi (the Sassanians) were ruling independently.[5]

Buddha Prakash[6] traces the Khatri sub-castes Sahni and Chahan as the remnants of the title 'Sahanusahi'. But this is far-fetched. So far as Sahani is concerned it is to be connected with Sadhanika the name of an officer in the administration of the early medieval period.[7]

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1. Goyal, S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, p.179.
2. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age, p.17. It is evident that the whole of Persian was not under Sassanian rule; Ghirshman,R., Iran, p.289: Sassanians, claim themselves to be the descendants of the Achaemenians (one of the original Persian tribes from the province of Fars) but the fact has not been proved beyond doubt. It may be noted that before the Sassanians the Parthians were ruling over Iran.
3. See Sahi.
4. I.C.,Vol.XIII, pp.85,90; Ghirshman,R, Iran, p.296: We know of the marriage of Hormizd II, son and successor of Narsah (A.D. 303-9) with a Kusana princess.
5. Cf.Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age,(ed.1967), p.19.
6. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.245.
7. D.Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties.

It may be noted that the Sassanian title Sahan-sah was used for the Great Emperor in Mughal period, which usage continues. In popular parlance the term is used for calling or receiving some person respectfully.

18. Sahi[1] (No.1,L.23) : The Sahis are said to have paid homage to Samudragupta. From the appendix it is clear that Daivaputra is not an adjective of Sahi as Goyal[2] has surmised who thus identifies it with Kidara Kusana of the Great Kusana family.

Daivaputras have been interpreted to denote the Kusanas; so Sahis cannot be identified with the Kusanas. They must have been an independent and separate tribe, and may be identified with the Persians mentioned in the Raghuvamsa in connexion with the North-Western conquests of Raghu.[3]

Goyal[4] identifies the Sassanians with the Parasikas of Kalidasa. But Parasikas can never be identified with Sassanians. The word 'Parasikas' itself clearly bespeaks of the Persians and is identical with the modern Parasis. Moreover Sahanusahis are to be identified with the Sassanians whereas Sahis refer to the Persians. Even now the king of Persia (Iran) is known as 'Shah of Iran'.

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1. See the Appendix No. IV.

2. Goyal, S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, p.177 : 'Sahi, who belonged to (the family of) the Devaputras'.

3. रघुवंश, ४।६० पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।

4. Goyal, S.R., A History of the Imperial Guptas, p.179.

Sahi is an Iranian or Persian word and seems to have some relation with Sanskrit root sas to rule, which when formed a noun means 'a ruler'.[1] The Sahi dynasty of Kabul was custed by the Brahmana minister of the last king. The new dynasty was also known as the Sahis and has been mentioned by Al-Beruni and Kalhana.

The word Saha or Sahu, often used for banias in villages, is not connected with Sahi or Sahi but is to be derived from Sanskrit 'sadhu'.[2]

19. Saimhalaka (No.1,L.23) : Inhabitants of Simhala or Ceylon. They are mentioned along with the Daivaputras, Sahis, Sahanusahis, Sakas and Murundas and all (other) dwellers in islands (probably the islands of Southern Sea such as Java and Sumatra)[3] who paid homage to Samudragupta by offering themselves for service, bringing presents of maidens, praying for charters bearing the imperial Gupta Garuda seal (Garutmadanka) by which they would be left undisturbed by the emperor in the enjoyment (bhukti) and administration (sasana) of their respective territories.[4] It literally interpreted the

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1. Sasa Saha. We know that the Vedic Sanskrit and the old Persian (Avesta) were very nearer to each other and Sanskrit Sa usually changed to 'ha' in Avasta.
2. Pathak, V.S., New Inscriptions from Ajayagadh, Bharati, Banaras Hindu University Journal No.I, 1956-57, p.48.
3. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.266,f.no.1.
4. No.I, LL.23-24 : देवपुत्रशाहिशाकानुशाहि - मुरुण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्वद्वीप - वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन - कन्योपायन - गरुत्मदंकस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन (या) चनायुपाय - सेवा - कृत ---

inscription will suggest that the people mentioned here were really tributaries under Samudragupta. When we see from the inscription itself that the Tamil states were left undisturbed the inclusion of even distant Simhala (Ceylon) and all other islands in this category raises great doubts about this interpretation, and we shall hardly be justified in taking the words of the Court-poet in their literal sense without corroborative evidence.[1]

So far as Ceylon is concerned, we have fortunately an independent evidence of its political relation with Samudragupta.

We know that after the death of king Mahasena (A.D.334-362) of the Lambakarna clan his son Sumeghavarna (chi-mi-kia-po-mo = "cloud of merit") became king of Ceylon who was a contemporary of Samudragupta (San-mecu-to-lo-kin-to).[2] He, according to a Chinese text, sent two monks to Bodh-Gaya to visit the sacred spots, but they were put to great inconvenience for want of suitable accommodation. To remove this difficulty for future pilgrims to the holy place, Meghavarna decided to found a monastery there. He accordingly sent a mission to Samudragupta with rich presents and asked for permission, and the Ceylonese king built a splendid monastery to the north of the Bodhi tree.[3]

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1. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.149.

2. The Classical Age, p.284.

3. I.A., 1902, p.194.

By the time of Hiuen Tsang it had developed into a magnificent establishment, with more than 1,000 priests, and the pilgrim has described the rich decorations and massive grandeur of the buildings. Referring to the old history of its foundation Hiuen Tsang says that the Ceylonese king 'gave in tribute to the king of India all the jewels of his country'. "It is likely that Samudragupta's courtier also regarded the rich present as tribute, and construed the Ceylonese king's prayer for permission to build a monastery into an 'application for charter confirming him in the enjoyment of his territories, one of the forms of homage paid by the Category of states into which Simhala is included."[1]

Simhala is generally identified with Lanka. But Varaha-mihira[2] mentions both of them separately as situated in the South.

Lanka has been identified differently by various scholars with Lanka of Madhyadesa,[3] with Maldives,[4] with the northern part of the Andhra country on the shores of the Bay of Bengal,[5] with an island off the south-east Coast of Ceylon.[6] All these

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1. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.150.
2. Brihatsamhita, XIV, VS.11,15, p.12.
3. Ghosh, J.C., A.B.O.R.S., XIX.
4. Vader, V.H., I.H.Q., II, 345-50.
5. Mishra, D.P., Mahakosala Historical Society, Vol.I -- 'The Search for Lanka'.
6. David John, A.B.O.R.S., XXI (1941), Pts. III-IV.

theories are refuted by S.B.Chaudhuri[1] who remarks that the assumption that Lanka is not Ceylon is gratuitous.[2] He points out that in the Ramayana Ravana while entreating Sita to be his wife says : "Lankanama samudrasya madhye mama mahapuri sagarena pariksipta nivista....."[3] Hanuman makes a similar statement in describing the strategical position of Lanka : Sthita pare samudrasya duraparasya.[4] Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa in connexion with 'Purim Lankam' writes : "Maharnava pariksepam Lankayah parikhalaghum".[5] With regard to the bridge built by Rama Kalidasa notes: sa setum bandhayamasa plavagairlavanamvasi.[6] In the Skanda Purana[7] and in the Kathasaritsagara,[8] we have similar references to Lanka. All these passages point distinctly to the great sea on the other side of which was situated the great city of Lanka.

The separate mention of Simhala and Lanka in many Sanskrit texts is quoted to show that Lanka was distinct from Ceylon.[9]

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1. I.H.Q., Vol. XXVII, No.I, March 1951 'Lanka', pp.120-26.
2. Ibid, op.cit., p.122.
3. III.47.29.
4. VI.3.21.
5. XII.66 : [illegible]
6. XII.70 : [illegible]
7. III.I.2.26 and ch.7.52.
8. Ed. by Tawney, I. p.78, 486, II, p.442. See also Karpura-Manjari, H.O.S., IV, p. 231.
9. Chaudhuri, S.B., I.H.Q., XXVII, No.I, p. 120.

This is hardly convincing for the separate mention of Mathura and Surasena, Saketa and Kosala, Gandhara and Taksasila, Avanti and Ujjaini, did not imply any material geographical difference as they were treated only as convertible terms in geographical texts of the Puranas. In the Puranic lists, Lanka is a territorial name and Simhala is an ethnic name. As the name of a city in the island of Simhala, Lanka passed off as a dvipa, and the two names were used in the same geographical sense. A passage in the Ramayana runs thus : Simhalan Barbaran Mlecchan ye ca Lankanivasinah.[1] Hiuen Tsang also mentions Seng-ka-lo (Ceylon) which included Leng-ka (Lanka).[2] As pointed out by B.C.Law the Mahavamsa and its commentary show that Lankadvipa (the lower portion) was one of the main divisions of the island of Ceylon.[3]

It is a valid presumption, therefore, that the ancient name Lanka referred to Ceylon.[4] We may assume further, as seems very likely, that Lanka was the early name of Ceylon and its literary name as well. Mention is made of Lankadvipa even in medieval inscriptions.[5] The Madras museum plates of Jatilavarman refer to the beautiful island of Lanka as Ilangai.[6]

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1. III.51.23.

2. Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, 233-36.

3. I.C., II, 821.

4. Chaudhuri, S.B., I.H.Q., XXVII, p.126.

5. I.A., XXII,29. Cf.The Belava plate of Bhojavarman (V.14).

6. I.A., XXII.73, line 36.

Epigraphic evidence, however, shows that Simhala, another name of ancient Ceylon, was equally well known. Thus the Kanhad plate of Krsna III refers to the island of Simhala."[1] In another inscription the king of Simhala is described as waiting on the shore.[2] In other inscriptions Simhala[3] is variously designated as Singala-desam,[4] Silam[5] and Sihala.[6] All this evidence favours the suggestion that as territorial names Simhala and Lanka were convertible terms, although the latter is also used as the name of a city. Priaulx remarks and probably correctly, that Lanka was the old mythological name for Ceylon, and that later on it was supplanted by Tamraparni, and subsequently when the Periplus was written, by Palaesimundus or Palaesimoundon which itself was transformed into Salike, Serendiva the derived form Pali Sihala or Sihala dipa.[7] The name Palaesimundon is very plausibly based on "pare samudrasya",[8] the description given of Lanka as noted

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1. E.I., IV, pp.278 ff. v.31.
2. E.I., XVIII.52, VS. 56-60.
3. Kathasaritsagara, op.cit., ii, p.186, 568.
4. E.I. XXV, 245.
5. E.I. XXI, 243, L.7.
6. E.I. XX. 36.
7. Priaulx O.D.B., The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana, pp. 103 ff.; see 'Vamana Purana - A Study' by Agrawala, V.S., pp.28-29.
8. I.A., 1919, pp. 195-96.

above.[1] Ptolemy's Simoundon also refers to that name. But in Ptolemy's Geography the island is called Salike which responds to Siele diba of Kosmas Indicopleustes[2] both of which have their sources in Sihalam "the Pali form of Sanskrit Simhala" or Ceylon. To this source may be traced its other names such as Serendib, Zeilan, Sialan,[3] the last one yielding to Ceylon. Marco Polo's Seilan[4] is a nearer approach to the modern name. Van-der-turk suggests that the name may have been derived from Seda or 'precious stone', hence the island was anciently called Ratnadvipa.[5] An Arab historian called it the "Island of Rubies". The Chinese name for the island also implies reference to gems. The name Salan also occurs in the works of Rashiduddin, Hayton and Jordanus.[6] Al Beruni called it Singaldib.[7] Simhala is perhaps so called as once abounding in lions.[8]

We may here note that there are references to another Simhala quite different from Ceylon.[9] It was placed to the

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1. Mc.Crindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, ed. by S.N.Mazumdar, pp. 247 ff.
2. Periplus, p.250.
3. Loc.cit., Mc.Crindle's Ancient India, p.160, f.n.1.
4. Travels of Marco Polo, ed. by Yule II, p.312.
5. Ibid, p.314, f.n.2, cf. Parasamudraka of Arthasastra the name of a kind of pearl.
6. Chaudhuri, S.B., I.H.Q., XXVII, p.127.
7. Sachau, Alberuni's India, I, p.209.
8. M.W., p.1213, col.3.
9. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 103.

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east of Marudesa and to the south of the Kam-adri. It is evidently in the Punjab - Rajasthan region and reminds us of the kingdom of Simhapura mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

20. Saka (No.I,L.23) : One of the tribes which is said to have paid homage to Samudragupta. As we have already discussed in connexion with the Murundas, the expression, 'Saka-Murunda' should not be translated to mean Saka-lords. Following Fleet[1] we may better split the expression into two distinct names, Sakas and Murundas.

The Sakas in the time of Samudragupta (4th century A.D.) must be the Sakas of Western India belonging to the Satrapal family of Castana and Rudradaman. In this period the Saka ruler was Rudrasimha II and his successor, Rudrasimha, whose coins come upto A.D. 390, was killed by Candragupta II.[2] Other persons of that nationality were ruling in and about Sanci.[3]

The Scyths, whom Indian named as Sakas, were originally living on the borders of Bactaria. A nomadic people called Yueh-Chih by the Chinese forced them to move from that place. Eventually in the beginning of the first century B.C., the Sakas moved on from Bactaria to attack first the Parthians of Iran, and then the Greeks in India.[4]

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1. C.I.I., III, p.14.

2. Mookerji, R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.27.

3. Ibid.; Majumdar,R.C., The Gupta-Vakataka Age (ed.1967),p.147 E.I., XVI, p.230; J.A.S.B., N.S. XIX, p.337.

4. Cf. Basham,A.L., The Wonder that was India, (Ind.ed.1963), pp.59-60; Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, pp.116-17.

By the middle of the 1st Century B.C. there remained only a few petty Greek chiefs in India, and the power of the Sakas reached Mathura. The Sakas continued the earlier practice of issuing coins with bilingual legends in Greek and Prakrit. The earliest Saka king in India was Maues(about C.80 B.C.).[1]

Towards the close of the first Century A.D., the Satavahanas were pushed out from the N-W. Deccan by the invading Sakas of the Ksaharata clan; but the Satavahanas, under the greatest of their rulers, Gautimiputra Satakarni, recovered their lands about A.D. 130. It is claimed by Gautami that Gautamiputra completely destroyed the Ksaharata family. After this event nothing more is heard of the Ksaharatas.[2]

Another Saka dynasty, called the Karddamaka family but generally known as the "Western Satraps", gained control of Kathiawar and Malwa at about the same time, and ruled roughly up to 400 A.D., and at the height of their power governing much of Rajasthan and Sind also. The greatest ruler of this dynasty was Rudradaman, who has left the earliest important inscription in correct Sanskrit,[3] a long panegyric which records his martial exploits, and his reconstruction of a great artificial

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1. Basham, A.L., The Wonder That Was India, p.60.

2. Ibid, (Indian ed.1963), p.61.

3. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.175 ff. Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I - (Saka) year 72 (= 150 A.D.).

lake at Girnar in Kathiawar, which had been excavated under Candragupta and improved in the time of Asoka. This inscription is among the earliest certainly dated records of ancient India, and proves that Rudradaman was reigning in A.D. 150.[1]

Samudragupta's main effort was in the direction of the West, where the Sakas had ruled for over 200 years and which was enriched by the lucrative western trade. The Sakas at that time controlled Malwa and Kathiawar and were a power to be reckoned with. "Though the Allahabad Pillar Inscription claims that Samudragupta received homage from "the Saka lords", it is probable that he did not measure swords with them.[2] It is clear that the Saka homage to Samudragupta was not at all sincere and reliable since it was not tendered to his successor,[3] and Candragupta II had to conquer the Sakas once again.

There is indeed a tradition that on the death of Samudragupta the Sakas succeeded in shaking the Gupta Empire, and forced the weak king, Ramagupta, to conclude a dishonourable peace.[4] Most authorities reject the story, and deny the historicity of Ramagupta, but the recent discovery of copper coins bearing his name[5] strengthens the suggestion that the tradition has a basis of fact.[6]

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1. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965). p.62, f.n.1.
2. Basham,A.L., The Wonder That Was India (Ind.ed.1963),pp.64-65
3. Mookerjee,R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.27.
4. Ibid, p.64 ;
   Basham,A.L., The Wonder That Was India, p.65.
5. Gupta,P.L., Altekar,A.S. and Narain,A.K., J.N.S.I., xii, pt.II, 1950.
6. Basham,A.L., The Wonder That Was India, (Ind.ed.1963),p.65.

It was Candragupta II (C.376-415), the son of Samudragupta and younger brother of the shadowy Ramagupta, who finally defeated the Sakas, soon after A.D.388.[1] So he is rightly remembered as 'Sakari' 'the enemy of the Sakas'.[2]

The trousers were introduced into India by the Sakas and seem to have been in vogue among the ruling classes during the Gupta times, for Gupta kings often appear on their coins as wearing trousers.[3]

The Sakas were notorious drinkers. It is said that Cyrus defeated the Sakas, when they were maddened by wine.[4] It has been suggested by Buddha Prakash that as a result of the influence of the Sakas, the vogue for excessive drinking spread. Strabo[5] speaks of a Bacchanalian festival of the Persians, in which men and women, dressed in Scythian style, passed day and night in drinking and wanton play.[6] We know of similar drinking bouts in the Mahabharata.[7] Probably the Scythians and the Iranians popularised drinking in the Panjab. The people of the Ganjectic country, sticking to pristine ideals of moderation did not relish the exotic drinking bouts

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1. Basham, A.L., The Wonder that was India (Ind.ed.1963), p.65.
2. Monier Williams, p.1045, col.3.
3. Basham, A.L., The Wonder that was India (Ind.ed.1963), p.210.
4. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.224.
5. Strabo, Geography, XV, III, 20.
6. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.224.
7. Mahabharata, VIII, 40, 25-28; VIII, 44, 12, 13.

popularised in the Panjab, under Saka and Persian influence. Baudhayana in his Dharmasutra, Karna in the Mahabharata, and the Buddha in his discourses denounced drinking and laid down a prohibition against it.[1] But this all is not agreeable since Buddha and Baudhayana belong to a period before the coming of the Sakas. Aryans have been great lovers of drinking. We can find many evidence for the drinking before Sakas.

We may here refer to the Saka Era (A.D.78), which is very popular in India even to-day. Traditionally this era is known to have been founded by a Saka king who occupied Ujjayini 137 years after Vikramaditya. The era may in fact have been founded by Kaniska. It was certainly used early in the 2nd Century A.D. by the "Western Satraps", who ruled Malwa, Kathiawar and Gujarat. Thence, the use of the era spread through the Deccan and was exported to South-East Asia.[2] Because of its long association with the Saka satraps the era may have earned its present name.

The Sakas came to be included in the category of the martial classes of ancient India. Manu[3] refers to the warlike people on the fringes of Aryan civilization, including the Greeks (Yavana), the Scyths (Saka), and the Parthians (Pahlava),

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1. Cf. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.225.

2. Cf. Basham, A.L., The Wonder That Was India (Ind.ed.1963), p.494.

3. Manu, X.44.

as ksatriyas who had fallen from grace through their neglect of the sacred law, but who could be received once more into Aryan fold by adopting the orthodox way of life and performing appropriate penitential sacrifices.[1]

The Sakas were a white-skinned tribe or race of people; in the legends which relate the contests between Vasistha and Visvamitra, the Sakas are fabled to have been produced by the cow of Vasistha, from her sweat, for the destruction of Visvamitra's army.[2]

Buddha Prakash[3] traces the Saka invasion on the basis of literary and linguistic considerations.

The name of the capital of the Madras, Sakala, and that of the region between the Ravi and the Chenab, Sakaladvipa, are based on the word Saka and are indicative of a Saka invasion. Likewise, the name of the clan Sakya, to which Buddha belonged, enshrines a reminiscene of the word Saka. It is significant that in the grammar of Panini the name Sakya is derived from the word Saka.[4]

Moreover the place-names ending in Kantha existing in the whole of the Panjab from the Bannu valley to the Kankhala

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1. Cf. Basham,A.L., The Wonder that was India (Indian edition 1963), p. 142.

2. M.W., p.1045, col.3 ; Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p.114 ; created from the tail of the cow Kamadhenu as told in many curious legends in the Ramayana.

3. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, pp.117-120.

4. Law,B.C., while discussing the Sakyas in his 'Tribes in Ancient India', pp. 245-256 does not refer to this fact.

region and even beyond suggest an intrusion of the Sakas long before the time of Panini,[1] who is known to have flourished one generation before the invasion of Alexander, the Great. Kantha is a Saka word for city[2] and is akin to Kadhavara or Kanthavara of Kharosthi inscriptions, Kand of Persian, Kantha of Khotanese, Kndh of Sogdian, Kandai of Pushto, Kanda or Koent of the dialect of the Rsikas. It is significant that the land beyond the Oxus, the Urheimat of the Sakas, abounds in Kantha-ending place-names, such as Samarkand, Khokand, Chimkand, Tashkand, Panjkand, and Yarkand.

The reference to the stepped-well, called Sakandhu after the Sakas, together with that worked by Persian Wheel, known as Karkandhu after the Karkians, in a vartika of Katyayana[3] also leads to the same conclusion.

At the time of Alexander's invasion the Sakas lived at the north-western borders of India. That this tide of Saka invasion, descending from the north-west, touched the eastern extremity of India, is manifest from the traditions of the Puranas that the Sakas advanced to Ayodhya during the reign of

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1. VI.2.125 mentions Kantha-ending place-names; Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, pp.70-1.

2. Sten Konow, C.I.I., Vol.II, Intro. p.43; Saka Studies, pp. 42, 149; Panini, IV.2.100; IV.2.103; II.4.20; VI.2.124; VI.2.125. Also see for details I.H.Q. XXVII, Calcutta, March 1951. Some foreign words in ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp.7-13.

3. Katyayana's Vartika on Panini, 1.1.64 :

   शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम् I,

   Also see for details: I.H.Q. Vol.XXVII, Calcutta, March 1951. Some foreign words in ancient Sanskrit literature, pp.8-9.

king Bahu and that his son Sagara checked and repelled them.[1]

In the Mahabharata the Sakas are stated to have constituted along with Culukas, Tusaras and Yavanas, the right wing of the Krauncavyuha formed by Bhisma on the sixth day of the battle.[2] Caraka in his medical treatise[3] refers to them in the context of Central Asiatic tribes, viz. Bahlika, Pahlava, Cina, Yavana and Saka.[4]

Buddha Prakash also tries to trace the remnants of the Sakas in modern times.[5]

The Sakas came into Panjab after the Yavanas or the Greeks. During their long rule they contributed a great deal to Indian culture and ultimately became one with the Indian people. The depth of their influence on Indian society is manifest from the word thakura, which implies the ideas of nobility and divinity and stands for the Rajputs in the Panjab and is derived from the word thagora, taugara or tukhara.[6] The name Tukhara itself survives in the name of the Tokhi caste found in the

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1. Visnupurana, IV,3; Vayupurana, ch.88; Brahmandapurana, ch.63.
2. Mahabharata, VI.75.21 :

   तुषारा यवनाश्चैव शकाश्च सह चूलिकैः ।
   दक्षिणं पक्षमाश्रित्य स्थिता व्यूहस्य भारत ॥

3. Charaka-Samhita, 30.6
4. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.247.
5. Ibid, p.245.
6. Buddha Prakash, 'Thakura', Central Asiatic Journal, Vol.III (1957), published in Holland, pp. 220-237.

North-West.[1] Another caste called Khosla is a survival of Kusulaka, the surname of the Ksaharata chiefs Liaka Kusulaka and his son Patika Kusuluka. Analogous to this word is the name of Kuzula Kadphises the first Kusana emperor to advance towards the Panjab. Hultzsch has equated this word with Turki gujlu meaning 'strong', and Sten Konow has compared it with Turki guzel, meaning 'beautiful', but Luders has shown that it is the name of a family or clan of the Sakas.[2] So the name of Khosla is a remnant of this tribe.[3] Besides the Thakuras and Teklis of the Panjab, there are caste-groups of Soi and Sikka, which are reminiscent of the Sakas.

21. Sanakanika (No.1,L.22; No.3,L.2) : In Inscription No.3 it occurs with the short 'i' in the fourth syllable, i.e. as 'Sanakanika'.[4]

The Sanakanikas were also subjugated by Samudragupta along with other tribes who payed him all kinds of taxes, obeyed

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1. Rose, H.A., Glossary of Castes and Tribes of the Panjab, and N.W.F.P., p.515.

2. Sten Konow, C.I.I., Vol.II, part I, Introduction, pp.50-51.

3. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.245.

4. Fleet, C.I.I., III, p.24, note 7, p. 25.

his orders and were coming to perform obeisance.[1] In the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II, of the Year 82 (A.D. 401) (No.3), we know of a Maharaja of the 'Sanakanika' tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Candragupta II and who is stated to have recorded his gift on a Vaisnava Cave temple at Udayagiri.[2] Udayagiri is a well-known hill about two miles to the north-west of Bhilsa, ancient Vidisa.[3] Thus we can say that the Sanakanikas lived in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa.[4] D.R.Bhandarkar mentions them to have held the province of Vidisa but he also locates Ganapatinaga's kingdom (one of the kings subjugated by Samudragupta) in Vidisa.[5] So his view seems to be inconsistent.

It may be noted that the Sanakanika feudatory chief under Candragupta II, as well as his father and grandfather, have the title Maharaja prefixed to their name. This may suggest that the Sanakanikas, and probably other tribes mentioned along with them on the Allahabad Pillar Inscription were not

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1. No.I, LL.22-23 :

   मालवार्जुनायन - यौधेय - माद्रकाभीर - प्रार्जुन -
   सनकानीक - काक - खरपरिकादिभिश्च सर्व्व - कर - दाना -
   ज्ञाकरण - प्रणामागमन - परितोषित - प्रचण्ड- शासनस्य --

2. Fleet, C.I.I., III, pp. 22-24.

3. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.356.

4. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.143.

5. I.H.Q. Vol.I, pp.251-258; see also Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967), p.141, f.n.2; p.132, f.n.1.

tribal republics, as is generally supposed, but were ruled by hereditary chiefs.[1]

The name of the grandfather of this Sanakanika feudatory chief of Candragupta II, is given as Chagalaga 'which looks like a foreign name';[2] But his father bears a purely Hindu name: 'Visnudasa'. Of course the present Chief's name is illegible in the inscription (No.3).[3] But considering the trend it may be surmised that his name also was a Sanskrit name. It seems that the tribe which originally consisted of aboriginal people was gradually coming under the influence of Sanskrit culture.

22. Tailika (sreni) (No.16,L.8): We have here a reference to a guild of oilmen headed by Jivanta.[4] We find references to oilmen in other inscriptions also, e.g., Kendupatna plates (Saka 1217 = A.D.1295) of Narasimha II;[5] and Kharepatan (Tatnagiri) plates (Saka 930 = A.D.1008).[6] The Indore Copper-plate of Skandagupta (No.16) records the gift of an endowment, out of the interest of which a lamp was to be maintained be treated as the perpetual property of the guild of oilmen of which Jivanta was the head, residing at the town of Indrapura

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1. Majumdar,R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age (ed.1967),p.144; See Fleet, C.I.I., III, p.25.
2. Bhandarkar,D.R., I.H.Q.I., p. 258.
3. See the Inscription, Fleet, C.I.I., III, pp. 24-25.
4. No.16, L.8:

   इन्द्रपुर - निवासिनास्तैलिक - श्रेण्या श्रीजन्तुवराया: ।
5. E.I., XXVIII, 190-91.
6. E.I., III.297-302; Gopal,L., The Economic Life of Northern India, p.22.

as long as it would continue in complete unity even in moving away from this place.[1] The guilds had apparently perfect freedom of immigration.

23. Vahlika (No.20,L.2) : The Meharauli Pillar Inscription (No.20) describes the dig-vijaya of a king named Candra (i.e. Candragupta II) in the first verse as stated below: "He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the Vanga countries, he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against him; - he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vahlikas were conquered; - he, by the breezes of whose prowess the Southern ocean is even still perfumed."[2]

We find various readings of the name Vahlika in literature which are : Vahlika, Bahlika, Vahlika and Bahlika. In our inscription (No.20) 'Vahlikah',i.e. Vahlika in plural has been used to signify the people inhabiting that country which is certainly Bactria

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1. Maity, S.K., Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period, p.159, note 4(a).

2. No.20, LL.1-2 :

यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्
वंगेष्याहवर्त्तिनो निखनता खड्गेन कीर्त्तिर्भुवि ।
तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता वाह्लिका
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः ॥

Cf. Sircar,D.C.,Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.184.

(modern Balkh) region on the Oxus in the northern part of Afghanistan.[1]

Mislead by a verse in the Ramayana[2] D.R.Bhandarkar[3] places Vahlikas in the close proximity of the Vipasa, the modern Beas. The reading Vahlikan in the passage quoted from the Ramayana is a mistake for Vahikan. Numerous passages can be quoted from the epic, Puranic and classical Sanskrit literature to prove that the Punjab = Pancanada, 'the land of five rivers', was in ancient times called the Vahika country.[4]

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1. Cf. Sircar,D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.94, p.184; Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p.449.

2. Ramayana,II,68, verses 18-19 ; "They went through the Valhika country to Mount Sudaman, viewing Visnupada and also the Vipasa and Salmali" :

   मध्येन बाह्लीकान्सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।
   विष्णो: पदं प्रेक्षमाणा विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् ॥

3. J.A.H.R.S., Vol.X, pp. 86ff.

4. We have some passages from the Karnaparvan (Ch.44) of the Mahabharata :-

   पंचानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां ये न्तराश्रिता: ।
   तान्धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन्बाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ ७ ॥
   शाकलं नाम नगरमापगा नाम निम्नगा ।
   जर्तिका नाम बाहीकास्तेषां वृत्तं सुनिन्दितम् ॥ १० ॥
   पंचनद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र नि:सृत्य पर्वतात् ।
   आरट्टा नाम बाहीका न तेष्वार्यो द्व्यहं वसेत् ॥ ४० ॥

The verses quoted below show that 'Vahika' was a general term for the whole of Panjab. We know Sakala as Vahika-grama from Patanjali and also Patanaprastha which is modern Pathankot by the same term. Moreover, Vatsyayana in his Kamasutra and Rajasekhara in his Kavya-mimamsa mention them distinctly as two separate tribes.[1]

There is, however, one verse in the Karnaparvan of Mahabharata which suggests that Vahika was originally the name of a country or people on the Vipasa (the Beas): "In the Vipasa, there were two Pisacas named Vahi and Hika; their descendants are called the Vahikas who are not the creation of Prajapati."[2]

Later on the sense of the word expanded to cover all the tribes living in the Panjab. It is interesting to note that the Mahabharata sometimes uses the terms Vahika, Madra, Jartika, Aratta and Pancanada synonymously. It appears that the lands of these tribes which lived close to one another became in course of time moulded into a big kingdom under the powerful kings of Sakala (Sialkot). As Vahika was beyond Kuruksetra and therefore outside the boundary of Brahmavarta, its analogical connection with the word 'bahis' may have been

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1. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, pp.117-18, see also p.117, f.n.3; I.C., Vol.VI, 128-36; Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.186; Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.71.

2. Mahabharata, Karnaparvan (ch.44), V.10 :

वह्लिश्च नाम वीरौ द्वौ, विपाशायां पिशाचकौ ।
तयोरपत्यं वाह्लीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥

another cause of the expansion of its geographical sense.[1] This is also reflected in the Varttikas of Katyayana who derives the word 'Vahika' from 'Vahi' or 'bahi', meaning 'outside' (the pale of Aryandom).[2]

Some scholars[3] rely on the description of the Bahlikas as the offspring of two Pisacas, Bahi and Hika, as given in the Mahabharata. Buddha Prakash holds that fresh stream of the Bactarian people which swooped over the Panjab came to be known as Balhikas; their name which became a general designation for the people of Panjab was later corrupted as Vahika.[4] But we have already shown that the two were separate entities.

We know that the Vahikas were the people living within the boundaries of the five rivers including the sixth Sindhu (Indus),[5] but according to the Meherauli Pillar Inscription

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1. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp.186-87.

2. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.71.

3. Robert Shafer, Ethnography of Ancient India, p.141 ; Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.243.

4. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.243.

5. Mahabharata, Karnaparvan, Ch.44, V.7 :

पंचानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां ये न्तराश्रिताः ।
तान्धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥

Candragupta conquered Vahlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the (river) Indus (sapta mukhari sindhch).[1] So Vahlika of our inscription is certainly Balkh in the extreme north of Afghanistan.[2] Bajpai[3] opposes it on the ground that Candragupta could not have gone to so far off a place as Bactaria which is situated across the Hindukush and rejects the older contention of scholars that the Kusanas were rüling in Bactaria during king Candra's campaign and that he crossed the Hindukush to crush them.

But the view of Bajpai is not plausible since it is clear from the lines in our inscription[4] that king Candra had conquered the Vahlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the river Indus.

So far as the literary evidence is concerned we find that Balhika is the name of a people in the Atharvaveda;[5] here the fever (Takman) is called upon to go to the Mujavants, the Mahavrsas, and the Balhikas. The Mujavants are quite certainly a northern tribe, and though the passage may contain a pun on

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1. No.20,L.2 :

तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता वाह्लिका ।

2. Agrawala,V.S., India as known to Panini, p.449.

3. Mirashi Felicitation Volume, Bajpai, K.D., 'Indentification of Vanga and Vahlika in the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription', /p.360.

4. No.20, L.2.

5. V.22, 5.7.9.

Bahika as suggesting 'outsider' (from bahis, 'without'),[1] still there is no doubt that the name was chosen from a northern tribe.[2]

The Satapatha Brahmana,[3] mentions a Kuru king named Bahika Pratipiya. It seems that Bahika was a descendant of Pratipa. But there is no evidence to show why he bore the name Bahika.[4] He is perhaps the same as Maharaja Bahlika Pratipeya of the Mahabharata.[5]

The Ramayana shows that the Kuru royal family originally migrated from the Bahlika country.[6] The passage in question says that Ila, son of the Prajapati Kardama, who was the king of the Vahli country, gave up Bahlika in favour of his son Sasavindu, and founded a new city Pratisthanapura in the Madhya-desa, where his other son Pururava Aila continued to rule. This links up the Ailas, the progenitor of the Kurus, with the Kardama royal family of Bahli.[7] H.C.Raychaudhuri

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1. Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharvaveda, p.446.
2. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol.II, p.63.
3. xii, 9,3,3.
4. op.cit. Vedic Index, Vol.II, p.64.
5. V,23,9; 149,27; J.R.A.S.,1910,p.52; vide Chaudhuri,S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p.110.
6. Ramayana, vii, 103,7,21,22, Cf. Linga Purana, Pt.I,ch.65.
7. Vide Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India by Chaudhuri,S.B., p.110.

suggests that, Kardama, the name of the ruling family of Vahlika, was obtained from the river of that name in Persia, and thus infers that the home of the Kardama kings is to be identified with Bahlika or Balkh in Iran. This view was earlier advocated by Roth[1] and Weber.[2] But Zimmer[3] rightly shows that there is no need to assume any Iranian influence.[4]

We know Vahlika from the Puranic list of peoples.[5] The Account of fifty-six countries[6] is interesting as it mentions them with the Hunas, Kauravas, Gandharas and Vidharbhas among others. In the Saktisangama Tantra[7] Bahlika is described as

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1. Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, 41.

2. Indische Studien, I, 205; Proceedings of the Berlin Academy, 1892, pp.985-995.

3. Altindisches Leben, 431-33. Cf. Whitney, Translation of the Atharvaveda, 260; Hopkins, Great Epic of India, 373.

4. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol.II, p.63.

5. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.23.

   वाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च आभीराः कालतोयकाः ।

6. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.71, from 'Sammoha Tantra' -- 'Satpancasaddesa-vibhaga'.

   हु (ह) णकौरवगन्धारविदर्भाः सविदेहकाः ।
   वाह्लीको बर्बरो देवि केकयः कोशलो पि च ।

7. Saktisangama Tantra, Book III, chapter 7 :

   काम्बोजदेशमारभ्य महामेघाद्यु पूर्वके ।
   वाह्लीकदेशो देवेशि अश्वोत्पत्तिपरायणः ।।

   Vide, Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p.77.

famous for horses and situated to the east of Mahamlechha and beginning with Kamboja. B.C.Law on the basis of references in the Mahabharata[1] places the Vahlikas in the neighbourhood of Gandhar and Kamboja.[2]

Katyayana (4th century B.C.)[3] mentions Bahlayana and derives it from the word Bahli, a country also mentioned in the Arthasastra of Kautilya.[4]

The Vayu Purana, Siva Purana, Kavya-Mimamsa of Rajasekhara and the Ramayana[5] place the Vahlika country in the northern division.[6] The Natyasastra[7] of Bharata says that Bahlikabhasa was spoken by the northern people (Udicyas). A similar reference is also to be found in the Sahitya-darpana.[8]

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1. Udyogaparvan of the Vahlika being famous for horses and the account given of Arjuna's digvijaya (sabhaparvan).
2. Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.70.
3. In his Varttika on Panini, IV.2.99.
4. Shama Shastri, 1st ed., p.79.
5. Sometimes the Ramayan places it in the West.
6. Cf. Arthasastra of Kautilya, ed. Shama Shastri, 1st ed., p.79, f.n.1.
7. XVII, 48.
8.

In the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana,[1] Bahlika is grouped with Strirajya, which occurs in the list of North-Western division. The peculiar custom in Bahlika of several young men being married to a single woman as in strirajya (strirajye ca Bahlike.....), appears to be an outlandish custom prevailing in the regions to the west of India.[2] The Jayamangala commentary also says that Bahlika was in Uttarapatha.[3]

We find the word Vahlika occurring in the Amara-kosa in two ways :-

(1). Bahlika[4]
(2). Bahlika[5]

The Amarakosa shows that Bahlika was famous for horses, saffron and Ferula Asa Foetida (hingu).

The reference to saffron leads us to the filaments of saffron on the banks of Vanksu (oxus) where Raghu gave defeat

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1. Ed. Pancanan Tarkaratna, p.385.

2. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p.109.

3. Kamasutra of Vatsyayana, ed. Pancanan Tarkaratna, p.371.

4. Amara-kosa : 2.8.45; 3.3.9; and 3.5.31.

5. Ibid, 2.6.124; 2.9.40; and 3.3.9.

to the Hunas as described in Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa.[1] The reading Sindhu of the passage[2] is plainly a mistake for Vanksu which is corroborated by Ksirasvamin, the earliest commentator of Amara who clearly shows that the Bahlika country was bordered on the Oxus.[3]

The Brihatsamhita[4] places Bahlikas in the jurisdiction of the Sun. Ancient tradition connects the Bahlikas with the Dharatakas, a Ksatriya clan which occupied the Bahlika country.[5] We know that Bahliki was another name of Madri, queen of the Madras.[6]

Buddha Prakash suggests that the Vedic school of the Bhallavins enshrined the memory of the Bahlikas; the modern sub-castes of the Barasarin sub-group of the khatris Bhalla and Behl represent the ancient Balhikas, and the Jat clans of Bhalar and Bhalerah, found in Multan, the Baloch tribe Bhalka,

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1. रघुवंश चतुर्थ सर्ग श्लो० 67-68.

2. IV.67 :

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ॥

3. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p.110 :

बाल्हिकदेशजं (बाह्लीक) वङ्क्षुतीरदिग्विजये दुधुवुर्वाजिनः ।

4. XVI.I, p.129.

5. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p.256.

6. J.Przyluski, Ancient Peoples of the Punjab, p.7.

living in Sindh, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan and the clan Bhallowana, found in Shahpur, are remnants of the far-flung Bahlika tribes.[1]

When Hisun Tsang visited Balkh, it was a centre of Buddhist faith,[2] but after the overthrow of the Sassanid kingdom by the Arabs, the ancient Bactaria along with the adjoining territories passed under the control of Khorasan, the seat of the Muhammadan power.[3]

24. Yaudheya (No.I, L.22) : Yaudheya is included among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta. In his time, they seem to have occupied northern Rajputana and south-east Panjab, and their territory extended upto the confines of the Bahawalpur state where their name survives in the name of the tract called Johiyawar.[4] Their earliest reference in the inscriptions is found in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I (A.D.150)[5] which mentions the victory of Saka king Rudradaman over the Yaudheyas who were 'proud of their heroism'. The Bijayagadh Inscription[6] which is a record of

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1. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.244; 137-38.
2. Beal,S., Buddhist records of the Western World,1884, I, pp.44-47.
3. Chaudhuri,S.B., Ethnic Settlements of Ancient India,p.111.
4. Mookerji, R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.25.
5. Sircar,D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.178, L.12.

वीर-शब्द- यौधेयानां विक्रान्तं यौधेयानाम् ।

6. Fleet, C.I.I., III, No.58, pp. 251-52.

the Yaudheyas (in characters of the second-third century A.D.)[1] connects them with Bharatpur state in Rajaputana. It refers to one Maharaja Mahasenapati, the ruler of the Yaudheya-gana.[2]

Buddha Prakash[3] connects the Yaudheyas with the eldest Pandava brother Yudhisthira as both the names are based on the root 'Yudh' to fight. Not only that, the Mahabharata[4] also mentions Yaudheya as the son of Yudhisthira.

The Yaudheyas were one of the republican tribes of the Panjab. Panini[5] includes them among the ayudhajivi sanghas together with the Parsus whom Buddha Prakash considers to be Persians.[6] Elsewhere also Panini[7] mentions them. The word Yaudheya is evidently synonymous with ayudhajivi and ayudhiya,[8] and Kautilya[9] refers to them as a warrior clan of the Punjab.[10]

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1. Chaudhuri, S.B., <u>Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India</u>, p.93.
2. Ibid, f.n.3, L.1.

   यौधेय - गण - पुरस्कृतस्य महाराज - महासेनापतेः ---

3. Buddha Prakash, <u>Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab</u>, pp. 103-105.
4. 1, 95, 76.

   युधिष्ठिरस्तु गोवासनस्य शैब्यस्य देविकां नाम कन्यां
   स्वयं वरांल्लेभे । तस्यां पुत्रं जनयामास यौधेयं नाम ।,

   Also see P.C.Roy ed. 1883, Adi Parva, p.287.
5. V.3.117 : पर्श्वादियौधेयादिभ्यो णञौ ।
6. Buddha Prakash, <u>Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab</u>, p.103.
7. IV.1.178 : न प्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ।
8. All the three words are connected with the root yudh to 'fight'.
9. Arthasastra, ed. R.Shamasastri, 11, 35, p.142.
10. Ibid, f.n.4.

The word Yaudheya literally means 'a warrior'. D.R. Bhandarkar quotes Yaudheyas to be an eka-raja ksatriya tribe where the military order was monarchical in character. Afterwards they were formed into a Raja-sabdopajivi samgha, i.e., an aristocratic organisation, all the members of which had the title of rajan.[1]

The Puranas[2] and the Harivamsa[3] refer to the Yaudheyas as having been descended from Usinara.[4] According to Pargiter, king Usinara established the Yaudheyas, Ambasthas, Navarastra, and the city of Krmila, all on the eastern border of the Punjab; while his famous son Sivi Ausinara originated the Sivis or Sibis in Sivapura.

In the Mahabharata,[5] the Yaudheyas are described as having been defeated by Arjuna, along with the Malavas and Trigarttas. In the Sabhaparvan (chap.52, 14-15), the Yaudheyas together with the Sibis, the Trigarttas, and the Ambasthas, are represented as having paid homage to Yudhisthira. "In the Dronaparva[6] 'Adrija' is used as an epithet qualifying the Yaudheyas

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1. Chaudhuri,S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India,p.93; Bhandarkar, D.R., Carmichael lectures, 1918, p.144, f.n.2; pp.164-67.
2. Brahmanda Purana,III,chap.74; Vayu Purana,chap.99; Brahma Purana,chap.13; Matsya Purana,chap.48; Visnu Purana,chap.17, etc. Vide, Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.75.
3. Harivamsa,chap.32; cf.also Pargiter,Markandeya Purana,p.380.
4. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,p.264.
5. Dronaparva, chap.18, 16; Karnaparva, chap. 5, 48.
6. Mahabharata, VII (Drona) I.59.5.

यौधेयानद्विवान् राजन् क्षुद्रान् पालवानपि ।

and meaning 'mountain-born'.[1]

The Brihatsamhita[2] places them in the Northern division of India and describes them as being in the region of Brhaspati.[3]

In the Sahityadarpana[4] they are described as interested in gambling (divyatam) and speaking the Southern Vaidarbhi.

Yaudheya coins have been found all over the area from Saharanpur to Multan. In the Ludhiana district have been unearthed their votive tablets. A rich find of their coin-moulds was brought to light by B.Sahni at Khokrakot near Rohtaka where there seems to have existed a regular mint.[5] Their new currency[6] depicting their tutelary deity Kartikeya,

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1. See Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.75, f.n.5 : There is no mention in Sorensen's index to the names in the Mahabharata of 'adrija' used as the name of a tribe.

2. XIV, 28, p.122 :

गन्धारयशोवति हैमतालराजन्यखचरगव्याश्च ।
यौधेयदासमेयाः श्यामाकाः क्षेमधूर्ताश्च ॥

3. XVI.V.22, p.133 :

शैतीपौरथाक्षष्ठपारता वाटधानयौधेयाः ।
सारस्वतार्जुनायनमत्स्यार्धग्रामराष्ट्राणि ॥

4. सत्यव्रतसिंह, साहित्यदर्पण, VI. 161 :

यौधनागरिकादीनां दाक्षिणात्या भी दीव्यताम् ।

5. Cf. Mookerji,R.K., The Gupta Empire, p.25.

6. Bearing the brahmi legend :

" यौधेयगणस्य जयः, "

which replaced the Kusana currency in these regions, shows that they played a leading part in the extermination of Saka rule in India.[1] One of their seals,[2] found at Ludhiana, shows that they were held in high esteem among the warrior-clans of the Punjab.[3]

The territory on the banks of the Sutlej right upto the borders of the Bahawalpur state is still called Johiyawar after the Yaudheyas.[4] Cunningham[5] identifies the Johiya Rajputs of the Bahawalpur region with the descendants of the ancient Yaudheyas, whose three tribes correspond to the three clans, indicated on Yaudheya coins. Thus we see that the Yaudheyas occupied a prominent place in the history of Panjab.

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1. Buddha Prakash; Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.104.

2. Bearing the legend : " [illegible] "

3. Buddha Prakash; Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab, p.104.

4. Ibid.

5. Ancient Geography of India, pp. 281-82. Ibid, f.n.1, p.105 ; Law,B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p.76.

PART - II

Place Names

SECTION 1

I N T R O D U C T I O N

" Place-names have an abiding interest: historical, geographical, linguistic, and above all, human. They may tell us how our ancestors lived, and how they looked on life. Place-names may be picturesque, even poetical, or they may be pedestrian, even trivial. All are worthy of observation".[1]

Their study needs serious scientific investigation. Every available recorded form must be studied minutely and an extensive knowledge of many languages and dialects may be required. Names of cities, castles, countries, town, villages, hamlets, roads, lanes, footpaths, mountains, hills, islands, fields, forests, rivers, lakes and streams can provide us with a wealth of information about local history, geography, dialects and phonetic features. We should arrange the recorded forms in a chronological order and study them keeping in view the similar instances. We should study the place names by the following process:

i) The initial terms and their significance,

ii) The suffixes and their significance,

iii) Synthesis of the above results.

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1. Op. Cit., Simeon Potter, Our Language, p. 151

By such study of place-names we can peep into the culture of the past and compare it with the existing culture.

Countries, towns, mountains and rivers, are generally named after discoverers, conquerors, founders and celebrated men. We must also keep in view the situation of a place, its surroundings and inhabitants.

The study of place names has received considerable attention in Western countries specially in Scandinavia, England and America.

In England the scientific investigation of local nomenclature began in the year 1901 when Walter William Skeat's book "The place-names of Cambridgeshire" was published. Skeat was constantly stimulted and encouraged by the erudite scholar Henry Bradley. Skeat and Bradley with Sir Allen Mawer founded in 1923 an English Place-name Society under the patronage of the British Academy. Scholars, archivists, librarians, curators, teachers, students and people from other professions have gladly helped in the work of the society and as the country surveys have appeared year by year, notable additions have been made to the knowledge of local archaeology, history and geography, of regional dialects, past and present.[1]

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1. Simeon Potter, Our Language, p. 156

In India[2], S.K. Chatterji[3], Sefti Pillar[4], Krishnapada Goswami[5], Bhayani[6] and Sandesara[7] have made the studies in this direction.

H.D. Sankalia[8] classifies the place-names into the following groups:

I. (i) Place-names after a person - hero, saint, tribal leader

(ii) Place-names after a deity

(iii) Place-names after a spirit

(iv) Place-names after tribes or peoples

II. Place-names after an event - auspicious occasion, bad occasion

III. Place-names after customs and superstitions.

IV. Place-names after geographical and physical features:

(i) Place-names after hills, mountains, mounds or any elevated place

(ii) Place-names after rivers, streams, lakes and ponds.

(iii) Place-names after forests, deserts, steppes, etc.

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2. Sankalia, H.D. Studies in the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of Gujarat, p. 8

3. Chatterji, S.K. Origin and development of Bengali Language VOL. I, pp. 64-67, 68, 74 and 179-88

4. Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, IV (1939-40), 24-36, V (1940-41), 1-34

5. Journal Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, 1943, 1-70

6. Jour. Guj. Res. Soc., IV (1942), 119-29

7. Ibid., V (1943), 148-56, 157-58

8. loc. cit., Sankalia, H.D. p. 47

V. Place-names after animals, birds and reptiles:

(i) Animals

(ii) Birds

(iii) Reptiles

VI. Place-names after names of existing places.

Chatterji[1] would suggest the following classification:

i) Place-names from tribes or castes living there originally.

ii) Place-names from names of natural features.

iii) Place-names of a religious character.

iv) Place-names after names of persons or events.

v) Place-namescopied from other place-names.

Actually both the classifications mean the same thing and represent the general trends of naming the places. Dr. Sankalia seems to have just simplified and annotated Dr. Chatterji's classification.

"The analysis which Panini gives of the underlying meanings which relate place-names to human society, shows conclusively that place-names do not originate by mere accident, but are the outcome of social and historical conditions with which a community is intimately connected. An etymological approach to the place-names of a country therefore introduces us to many a forgotten chapter of history and ethnography."[2]

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1. Ibid., p. 47, f.n. I

2. Vide, Ibid., p. 46, f.n. I, V.S. Agrawala, J.U.P.H.S., XVI,ii

Panini[1] gives the following endings of place-names:

1. Nagara (IV.2.142)
2. Pura (IV.2.122)
3. Grama (IV.2.142)
4. Kheta (VI.2.126)
5. Ghosa (VI.2.85)

(6-9) Kula, Suda, Sthala, Karsa (VI.2.129)

(10-11) Tira, Rupya (VI.1.135)

(12-15) Kaccha, Agni, Vaktra, Garta (VI.2.126)

(16) Palada (IV.2.142)

(17) Arma (VI.2.90)

(18) Vaha (IV.2.122)

(19) Hrada (IV.2.142)

(20) Prastha (IV.2.122, IV.2.110)

(21) Kantha (IV.2.142)

Panini gives the interesting information that this ending was in use in Usinara (II.4.20) and Varnu (Bannu) (IV.2.103). Kantha was a Saka word for a town as in expression Kandavara = Kanthavara occurring in a Kharosthi inscription.[2]

There are also instances when place-names have been very lengthy.[3]

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1. Agrawala, V.S., India as Known to Panini, pp. 65-71
2. Luders J.R.A.S., 1934, p. 516, also Sten Konow, Corpus of Kharoshthi inscriptions, p. 43, Saka Studies, pp. 43, 149, Kantha, "town in feminine gender"
3. अष्टाध्यायी अनुशीलन, पृ. १-२।

1. The longest place-name in Great Britain has 58 letters -- Llanfairpwllgwyngyllgogerycychwyrndrobwllll-antysiliogogogoch -- a railway station on the Holyhead-Euston line.[1]

2. Kardivilliwarrakurrakurrieapparlarndoo[2] --

This is not a misprint. It is an Australian aboriginal word. It is the name of a lake in the Northern territory, and it means 'the starlight shining on the waters of the lake'.[3]

Modern place-names suffixes and prefixes may be divided into three main categories.

(i) Suffixes with Sanskrit influence.- Pura, Pura, Nagara, Kota, Thala (Sthala), Kunda, Pokhra, Pada, Badi, etc.

(ii) Mohammadan:- Suffixes.- Talaba, Ganga (Nawabganj) Daraganja, Vishveshwaraganja), Chaka,

Prefixes.- Dera, Mohalla, Basti, etc.

(iii) English.- Colony, town, street, Road, Fountain, Sector, Block, Enclave, Gate, Bridge, Place and Cantt. (Cantonment).

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1. Ibid., p. 1, f.n. 1

2. Ibid., pp. 1-2, f.n. 2

3. Ibid. "Wales and New Zealand have even longer place-names, but the name of the Australian lake shows that aboriginal peoples of Australia -- thought by ethnologists to be among the oldest remaining types of original homo sapiens -- were not behindhand in inventing words which, besides having a poetically beautiful meaning, could twist the tongue of the uninitiated into knots".

According to the Mahabharata[1], 'a place must be named after any of its peculiar features'.

In the Mahabharata[2] 'Janapada' 'Desa' and Rastra are used synonymously[3]. Yet in practice, they must differ slightly. 'Desa' means 'a country', province or any patch of land', 'Janapada', a tribal settlement[4], whereas 'Rastra' is definitely a political term, denoting 'whatever fell under the jurisdiction of the sovereignty'.

It will be interesting to note the antiquity of place-name terms. We find Rastra[5] as the oldest right from the Rigveda, and used for the biggest unit. Its equivalent Janapada came into being in the Brahmana-period[6]. The Rgveda frequently refers to tribes viz. the Yadus, the Purus, the Anus etc. who were residing in particular area without mentioning their territory province or kingdom[7]. The ordinary people of a Janapada were called Vis which were divided into gramas or unions of many families. So whenever the people of

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1. Mahabharata I, 2-8

   येन लिङ्गेन यो देशः युक्तः समुपलक्ष्यते ।
   तेनैव नाम्ना तं देशं वाच्यमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

2. M.Bh. I, 102-11, 12, 14

3. तस्मिन् जनपदे रम्ये बहवः कुरुभिः कृताः ।
   ..... तस्मिन् राष्ट्रे सदोत्सवाः ।
   स देशः परराष्ट्राणि ..... ।

4. Cf. 'The Genesis of Janapada', The Journal of the Bihar Res. Soc., Patna, Vol. XLIV. Sep.-Dec.1958, Parts III & IV pp. 204-14

5. Vedic Index by Mac. and Keith, Vol. II, p. 223

6. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 273

7. Altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India, p.32

gramas settled they were termed as gramas (villages) and hence the word samgrama came into being when a number of gramas united for a battle. Every Janapada had a pura or chief city (capital) where the king resided. Every Janapada was politically named as Rastra[1]. Panini mentions a number of Janapadas in the Astadhyayi[2]. Kautilya also uses the term Janapada for territory as the constituent of state[3]. Panini mentions a number of Janapadas in his work[4] and in later times. We find the mention of sixteen Mahajanapadas or Aryavarta in many places in the Buddhist literature. The term 'rajya with its different kinds is referred to in the later Vedic period i.e. in the Brahmanas.

Later on we find that the connotations of the territorial units differed from place to place and time to time. Panini mentions separately the villages and towns of Eastern India (Pracham gramanagaranam, VII.3.14), but with reference to Vahika and Udicya country he uses the term grama in a generic sense to include all centres of population (IV.2.117 and IV.2.109). Patanjali in commenting on the distinctions

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1. See Ibid.
2. Agrawala, V.S. India as Known to Panini, pp. 49-64
3. अर्थशास्त्र, ५/१, p. 18
4. Agrawala, V.S. India as Known to Panini, pp. 15-16

between the terms grama and pura remarks that these should not be settled by rules of grammar but by localusage (tatratinirbandhona labhah, III.321).

The two terms grama and nagara were used indiscriminately in the Vahika country (Panjab) where the villages and had also grown in prosperity like the towns, and hence the word grama here included nagara also in the connotation[1].

Yajnavalkya[2] uses the term Puga which the Mitaksara explains as the assembly of the inhabitants of the same place with different castes and occupations such as village, city, etc.

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1. Agrawala, V.S., Indian as known to Panini, p. 65
   The Greek accounts testify to the existence of about five hundred towns, all rich and prosperous, in the Vaihika country, where naturally the old distinction of grama and nagara must have lost its sharpness as reflected in the Astadhyayi.

2. II.31

SECTION - II

Discussion on Names

CHAPTER II

PLACE-NAMES AND THEIR SUFFIXES

Now we shall arrange the place-names occurring in our inscriptions with their suffixes and discuss each one of them.

Place-names ending in Rastra

Rastra (from Raj) :[1]

It is the oldest and biggest territorial term. In the Rgveda[2] and later Samhitas,[3] it denotes 'kingdom' or 'royal territory'. It is considered to be one of the Prakrtis (constituents)[4] and refers to a country.[5] It was the name of a Commissioner's divisions under the Rastrakutas.[6] In South India, under the Pallavas, Kadambas, and Salankayanas also it denoted only a district, if not a Tehsil.[7] The Samaranganasutradhara[8]

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1. M.W., p. 879, col. 2.

2. iv.42,1; VII,34,11; 84.2; X.109,3; 124,4 etc.
   vide Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 223

3. AV. X.3.12; XII.X.8; XIII,I,35;
   Vajasaneyi Samhita, IX.23; XX.8;
   Taittiriya Samhita, 1,6,10,3; III.5,7,3; V.7.4.4
   Taittiriya Brahmana,1,2,1,13 etc.
   Maitrayani Samhita, III,3,7; 7.4; 8.6; iv,6,3
   vide ibid.

4. Manu, VII, 157 : अमरकोष 2.8.17

5. अमरकोष 3.3.184

6. Altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India (2nd ed.), p.202
7. E.I., XV, p.257; E.I., XVI.276
8. Ed. by T.Ganapati Shastri, 18.7 :

   नगरं वर्जयित्वान्यद् सर्वं जनपद स्य: ।
   नगरेण सर्वं कृत्स्नं राष्ट्रं देशो ग पण्डलम् ॥ ७ ॥

says that 'all the Rastra including nagara is called Desa or mandala while nagara is excluded in Janapada'.

It divides rastras into three kinds :-

(i) Big - It consists of nine thousand and ninety villages, but some scholars say that nine thousand and sixty four villages make a big rastra.[1]

(ii) Middle - It consists of five thousand, three hundred and eighty four villages.[2]

(iii) Small - It consists of one thousand, five hundred and forty eight villages.[3]

It further discusses that seven cities should be established in each rastra.[4]

In place-names Rastra is changed into :[5]

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1. Samaranganasutradhara, ed.by T.G.Shastri, 10.83 :

नवग्रामसहस्राणि नवति (श्च ?) प्रचक्षते ।
चतुः षष्टिमपि ग्रामान् ज्यायो राष्ट्रं विदुर्बुधाः ॥८३॥

2. Ibid, 10.84

दशार्धं च सहस्राणि ग्रामाणां त्रिशती तथा ।
ग्रामाश्चतुरशीतिश्च मध्यमं राष्ट्रमीरितम् ॥ ८४ ॥

3. Ibid, 10.85

सहस्रमेकं ग्रामाणां तद्वच्च शतपंचकम् ।
द्यूना च ग्रामपंचाशत् कनीयो राष्ट्रमुच्यते ॥ ८५ ॥

4. Ibid, 10.87

राष्ट्रेष्वेवं विभक्तेषु यथाभागं विधानवित् ।
निवेशयेत् पुराण्येषु सप्त सप्त यथागमम् ॥ ८७ ॥

Ed. Shukla, D.N., Hindi Trans., p. 108.

5. Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, Preface, p. 2.

a) Ratha, as Maharastra, Maratha,

b) Rat, as Mayarastra (= Mayarat), Mirat

It also changes into ratta,

Cf. Nagiratta. Walde also derives it

from raj - (n.sg.rat)

Sk. rastra : AV. rastar - "[1]

Ancient Indian history extending over several centuries, we do not find uniformity in the nomenclature of the different territorial and administrative divisions in the various kingdoms flourishing in different centuries and provinces. In the small kingdoms like these of the Pallavas, the Vakatakas and Gahadavalas we usually find reference to only one territorial divisions, the district variously called visaya or rastra.[2]

Following are the names with this suffix :-

1. Devarastra (No. I, L. 20):

It has been mentioned as ruled by Kubera one of the kings ruling in Southern Region who were subdued by

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1. Alois Walde,
Vergleichandes Worterbuch
Der
Indogermanischen Sprachen
II Band (Volume), p. 363

2. E.C., E.I., XXIV, p. 260: E.I. XV, p. 257: E.I. IX, p.304 vide altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India, pp. 201-202

Samudragupta. Dey[1] identifies it with the Maratha country (i.e. Maharastra). Fleet and Smith are also of the same opinion. G. Ramdas slightly differs from them when he identifies Devarastra with modern Devagiri in the Dharwar district.[2] According to R.D.Banerjee[3] Devarastra is the name of a district or province in Kalinga. B.C.Law[4] identifies it with Yellomanchili taluk of the Vizagapatam district, which is the view of H.C. Ray Chaudhuri[5], S.B. Chaudhuri[6], Dubreuil and

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1. Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient Medieval India, p. 55

2. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, part II, p. 34

3. History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 116

4. Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 150
Cf. I.C., Vol. XIII, pp. 88-89

5. Ray Chaudhuri, H.C., Political History of Ancient India, 4th ed., p. 454

6. Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, pp. 77-78, f.n. 15; E.I., XXIII.57. 'The grant in question records that Anantavarman's grandfather Gunavarman ruled over Devarastra, which must have been the kingdom of the same name conquered by Samudragupta, and is identical with a taluk in the Vizagapatam district. Although it is treated separately from Pistapur in the emperor's Allahabad inscription, the plate of Anantavarman indicates that he was ruling over Devarastra, and Pistapur was the chief city of the kingdom.

Bhandarkar[1]. This view is generally accepted at present. Earlier scholars held that Samudragupta made a round of the South crossing from the eastern to the western coast of India. But this involves serious difficulties about his potential relations with the Vakatakas. Now, scholars describe southern campaign of Samudragupta as confined to the eastern coast. Thus it becomes apparent that Devarastra was conterminous with Kosala (Sirpur). Tamralipti may have been included in Devarastra[2].

2. Mula-Nagiratta (No. 28, L. 2, L.8, L. 15): L.2 of the inscription mentions a mandala (sub-division) called Nagiratta (Nagiratta-mandalika) and later on refers to Mula-Nagiratta which seems to have been the headquarters of this mandala. It's clear from the inscription itself that Mula-Nagiratta was situated in the neighbourhood of Nitva-Gohali.[3]

Mula-Nagiratta literally means 'Nagiratta Proper'. The word Nagiratta is the Prakrit form of Nagarastra meaning 'a country of the Nagas'.

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1. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Part II, p. 34

2. I.C., Vol. XIII, p. 89

3. No. 28, LL. 2-3

   No. 28, LL.8-9

   No. 28, L. 15

   Cf. Sen, B.C. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 117

3. <u>Surastra</u> (No. 14, L. 8, L. 9):

In L. 8 Surastra is used in plural[1] while in L. 9 it is an adjective of Avani (land)[2]. In this inscription great importance has been attached to Surastra after his conquests Skandagupta deliberated for days and nights together as to whom should be entrusted with the important task of guarding the land of the Surastras.[3] At last he was satisfied when appointed Parnadatta governor over this western[4] region.

Surastra corresponds with Southern Kathiawar with its Prakrit name Sorath.[5] Literally the name means a good country. It was so named probably on account of the natural fertility of the land, Sorath is well known for its rich crops of all kinds, and splendid cattle.[6]

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1. L.8. V. 11

   सर्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु, यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान्सुराष्ट्रान् ।
   आं ज्ञातमेक: खलु पर्णदत्तो, भारस्य तस्योद्वहने समर्थ: ॥

2. L.9. V. 12

   एवं विनिश्चित्य नृपाधिपेन, नैकानहोरात्रगणान्स्वमत्या ।
   य: संनियुक्तो र्थनया कथंचित्, सम्यक्सुराष्ट्रावनि - पालनाय ॥

3. Ibid., VS. 11, 12

4. L. 9 V. 13: नियुज्य देवा वरुणं प्रतीच्यां, स्वस्था यथा नोन्मनसो बभूवु: ।
   पूर्वेतरस्यां दिशि पर्णदत्तं, नियुज्य राजा धृतिमांस्तथाभूत् ॥

5. Sankalia, H.D. Loc. cit., p. 9

6. Ibid., p. 50

Surastra[1] is mentioned in the Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I (150 A.D.). It was governed by Pusyagupta, under Chandragupta Maurya and by a Yavana Tusapa under Asoka[2]. The Puranas[3] and Kavyamimamsa[4] mention it a country in the West while the Brihatsamhita[5] mentions it as a country in the South. It may be due to the different geographical units made by the authors of the Kavyamimamsa and the Brihatsamhita.

Under Gupta emperors Vamanasthali (mod. Vanthali) was the capital of Surastra, before Valabhi became its capital[6]. The name Surastra also occurs in the Mahabharata, the Jatakas[7], and several times in the Ramayana[8]. It is also

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, ed.1965, p. 178, L. 11

2. Ibid., p. 177, L. 8. Cf. Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 298

3. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 33

4. काव्यमीमांसा, सप्तदशो ध्याय:, p. 236

5. बृहत्संहिता XIV: V. 19, p. 121

6. Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 183

   Dasakumaracarita, Chapter VI

7. op. cit., Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 152

8. Adikanda, Ch. XII: Ayodhyakanda X, Kiskindhyakanda, XLI

mentioned in Patanjali's Mahabhasya.[1] In Kautilya's Arthasastra, Surastras are mentioned as one of the corporations of warriors who lived by agriculture and trade.[2] According to the Arthasastra the elephants of Surastra were inferior to those belonging to Anga and Kalinga.[3]

In the mediaeval period[4], in three directions, Bhavanagra, Porabandara and Somanath (the famous temple) were the limits of Surastra.

Place-names ending in Bhukti

Bhukti (from bhuj):-

Literally it means 'enjoyment' or possession.[5] Bhukti denoted an administrative division smaller than a modern Tehsil or Taluka in the Deccan and M.P., but in northern Indian under the Guptas and Pratiharas it denoted a unit as large as the Commissioner's Division in modern times.[6] Thus Pratishthanabhukti consisted of only 12 and Kopparakabhukti of 50 villages in the Deccan under the Rashtrakutas,[7] whereas under the Guptas the Pundravardhanabhukti comprised of the districts of Dinajapur, Bogra and Rajshahi, and Magadhabhukti included the districts of Gaya and Pataliputra.[8] Sravastibhukti under the

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1. I.I.I.
2. Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 298 Chaudhuri, S.B., loc. cit., pp. 152-53
3. Loc. cit., Law, B.C., p. 298
4. ibid., p. 154
5. M.W., p. 759, col. 3
6. Altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India, p. 202
7. Ibid., E.I., XXV, p. 265

Pratiharas included several districts in northern U.P.[1] The Bhuktis under the Pratihara empire appear to have been rather Commissioners' Divisions than provinces.[2] Bhukti is changed into huti as Jejakabhuti, Jejahuti?[3] The unit bhukti which so often appears in the inscriptions of the Gupta period as the designation of an administrative unit is not frequently found in the early medieval period.[4]

We find only one place name with the suffix bhukti which is detailed below:-

Pundravardhana (No. 28, L.I, No. 33, LL. 1-2, No. 34, L.2: No. 35, L. 2, No. 37, L. 2, No. 38, L. 2: No. 44, L. 14)

This bhukti is mentioned in the Gupta epigraphs ranging from the years 124 to 224 of the Gupta era, i.e. from A.D. 443 to 543. It formed an integral part of Gupta empire during this period. According to Inscription No. 38, a noble man (kulaputra) Amrtadeva by name belonging to Ayodhya approached

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8. N.I., XV, pp. 129 ff. When the Mitaksara on Yaj. I. 319 states that only a king can make the grant of land and not a bhogapati, it is obviously referring to the head of this large territorial division vide Ibid., Altekar, p. 202, f.n. 2

1. Altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India, p. 202

2. Ibid., p. 203

3. Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, Preface p. i

4. Gopal, K.K., I.H.Q., March and June 1963

the local government of Kotivarsa of which Svyambhudeva was the governor, under the provincial government of Pundravardhana-bhukti, during the reign of Bhanugupta, and prayed that he might be given, by means of a copper-plate document in accordance with the prevailing custom, some rent-free waste lands. His prayer was granted.

General Cunningham[1] identifies Pundravardhana with the extensive ruins known as 'Mahasthangarh, 8 miles north of the town of Bogra. The river Karatoya was the dividing line between Pundravardhana-bhukti and Kamarupa[2]. According to Wilson, the ancient kingdom of Pundradesa included the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Malda, Bogra and Tirhut.[3] It seems to have been the biggest administrative division or province of the Gupta empire, divided into several visayas and mandalas of which twenty-four[4] are mentioned in known epigraphs. In short Pundravardhana signified North Bengal.

Pundravardhana, as the name suggests, was a settlement of the Pundras.[5] The first reference to the Pundras is found

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1. A.S.R. Vol. XV, pp. 104-117: E.I. XX, p. 61
2. Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 248
3. Visnu, P. II, pp. 134, 170: Dey, N.L., Loc.cit., p. 161
4. Majumdar, R.C., History of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 24-25
5. Op. cit., Sen, B.C., Some Historical aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 104

in the Aitareya Brahmana.[1] The earliest literary reference to Pundravardhana is to be traced in the Buddhist work, the Divyavadana, where it is mentioned as the easternmost city of India.[2] The Paundra country is mentioned also in the Brhatsamhita,[3] as situated in the east. The Kavyamimamsa also mentions it as a janapada in the east.[4] In the inscription of Bengal the name Pundravardhana was changed into Paundravardhana in the early part of the 12th century, when it occurs first in the Manahali grant of Madanapala and remained in use till the end of the Sena rule. The Rajatarangini mentions Pundravardhana as the cpital of Gauda which is also proved by a reference in Purusottama's lexicon (11th century A.D.)[5].

The city lost its importance from the third quarter of

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1. VII, 18

2. Sen, B.C., Some Historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, p. 104, see also f.n.

3. XIV, p. 119, V. 7:

   उदयगिरिभद्रगौडकपौण्ड्रोत्कलकाशिमेखलाम्बष्ठा:

4. काव्यमीमांसा, सप्तदशो ध्याय: p. 235

5. Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 161-162: Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 247

the 12th century A.D. as the later Sena kings shifted their capital to Gauda in the Malda district. Towards the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14the century A.D. Pundravardhana was occupied by the Mahommadans.[1]

Place-names ending in Visaya

Visaya

According to Monier Williams it means a dominion, kingdom, territory, reigon, district, country, or abode and in plural it meant lands or possessions.[2] In the Astadhyayi[3] it denotes regions or provinces, called after their inhabitants, e.g. Saiba, the region of the Sibis: Malavaka, the region of the Malava people, Rajanyaka of the Rajanya tribe and so forth. 'The names according to Visaya seem to be based on the ethnic distribution of population over particular areas for the time being without reference to the form of government'.[4]

The word Visaya in the sutra Visayo dese[5] is significant. Jainendra, Sakatayana and Hemacandra take it as rastra, and Vardhamana as Janapada. The Kasika takes it as grama-samudaya. Katayayana and Patanjali interpret

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1. Loc. cit., Law, B.C., p. 248
2. M.W. p. 997, col. I : from वि + विश् to extend
3. IV. 2.52-54
4. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p. 37
5. IV. 2.52

Visaya as being identical with janapada in some cases, but their comments give the impression that even such geographical units as were not a janapada were called Visaya.[1]

If Visaya and Janapada had been identical, Panini would not have treated the former under a separate heading[2]. A visaya denoted both a bigger unit having the status of a Janapada, and a smaller area which was but an estate. In the Rajanyadi gana, visaya denotes janapadas, while in the Bhauriki and Aisukari ganas,[3] it is landed property, the share of estate which was the source of livelihood.

In the post-Paninian period, the distinction between Janapada and visaya was lost, both being called by the same names, for example Angah, Vangah, Sumhah, and Pundrah. In some Janapadas like Rajanya, the distinction was retained, as Rajanyaka denoted a visaya and Rajanyah, the Janapada of the Rajanya tribe. Similarly we have Vasatah, vasatayah: Gandharah, Gandharayah: and Saibah, Sibiyah. Other smaller units were only visayas or estates like Bailvavanaka, Atmakamsyaka, Bhaurikavidha and Aishukari-bhakta[4].

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1. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, pp. 497-98
2. IV. 2.52-54
3. IV. 2.54
4. Agrawala, V.S., loc.cit., p. 498

The visaya usually corresponded with the district of the modern administration.[1] Minor bhuktis, mandalas and the visayas were used to denote the same administrative division in many cases.[2] The district administration was well organised in the Gupta period. Some of the land-grant charters bear the seals of the district administration.[3] Sealings of the district administration of Rajagrha and Gaya have been found at Nalanda, showing that their correspondance to outsiders bore the impress of their official seals.[4]

We have the following place-names ending in Visaya:

1. Gaya (No. 21, L. 7):

A village named Revatika belonging to the Gaya visaya was granted as an agrahara to the brahmana, ostensibly by Samudragupta.[5] Gaya is at present the headquarters of the Gaya district, 60 miles due south of Patna. It comprises the modern town of Sahebganj on the northern side and the ancient town of Gaya on the southern side.[6]

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1. Altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India, p. 208
2. Majumdar, R.C., History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 23
3. I.A., 1910, p. 195, p. 204
4. M.A.S.I. No. 66, pp. 45 ff.
5. गया - वेचकिले - रेवतिका ग्रामे -----
6. B.C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 219

Much has been written on Gaya,[1] all of which it is not possible to discuss here. We will confine ourselves to the origin of the name Gaya and the importance of Gaya.

In the Rgveda Gaya is a proper name applied to a composer of hymns.[2] In the Atharvaveda[3] Gaya appears to be a wonder worker or soccerer along with Asita and Kasyapa who later on transformed himself into Gayasura.[4] According to the Vayu Purana[5], the city was named Gaya after an Asura, Gaya by name (Gayasura). Visnu killed this demon but granted him a boon that this city would be held highly sacred. According to R.L. Mitra,[6] this

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1. R.L. Mitra's Buddha-Gaya, 1878: Cunningham's Mahabodhi, 1892: O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Gaya, Vol. XII. (also his article in J.A.S.B. for 1903, LXXII, No. 3, pp. 1-11: B.M. Barua's Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, Vol.s I-II, 1934: J.C. Ghosh's article in J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXIV, 1938, pp. 89-111: P.V. Kane's History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, 1953, pp. 642-79: Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 224-230: For a Chinese Inscription at Buddha-Gaya: I.A. X, pp. 339-40: Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XL, Part I, 1954, pp.1-7

2. RV. X.63.17: X.64.17

3. I. 14.4

4. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, p. 645

5. Ch. 112, 4-5, for story of Gayasura, see Kane, History of Dharmasastras, pp. 656-57

6. Buddha-Gaya, p.17

story is an allegorical representation of the expulsion of Buddhism from Gaya which was the head-quarters of the Buddhist faith. Aurnavabha in explaining of 'idam Vismr-vi Cakrame tredha nidadhe padam'[1] in the Nirukta[2] holds that the three steps of Visnu were placed on Samarohana, Visnupada and Gayasiras. The Mahabharata (III.95 and VII. 64) describes the performance of sacrifices by Gaya[3] references to which[4] are also found in the Ramayana[5], Bhagavata Purana,[6], Brahmanda Purana,[7] Agni Purana,[8] Visnu Purana[9], Vamana

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1. R.V. I. 22. 17

2. निरुक्त 12.19:

   त्रेधा निदधे पदम् । पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे
   दिवीति शाकपूणिः । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसि-इति और्णवाभ

   Aurnavabha is believed by scholars to have flourished between 700 and 500 B.C.: See Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 229

3. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 226

4. Ibid., p. 227

5. Ayodhyakanda, Ch. 107

6. V. Ch. 15

7. ch. 34

8. ch. 107

9. IV. ch. 11

Purana[1], etc. Asvaghosa's Buddacarita[2] (1st or IInd cent. A.D.) speaks of the Buddha's visit to the hermitage called 'the city of the royal sage Gaya', who was later conceived as a great giant.[3]

We can find evidence of the importance of Gaya growing in the period subsequent to 750 A.D. At Gaya while we have only one inscription belonging to the Gupta Period, we get numerous inscriptions belonging to the Pala period.[4] But these records are of not much use for the history of the town, they simply show that till the end of the twelfth century A.D. it was under the Palas.[5]

The city played no major role in politics at any period of history but it was certainly a centre of religious movements of Buddhists and the Brahmanical Hindus.[6] Gaya which was the head-quarters of Buddhist faith passed to the Hindus between the second and fourth centuries of the Christian era

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1. Ch. 76

2. XII. 87-88

3. Cf. Vayu Purana, ch. 105 ff. etc.

4. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 224. Cf. Pandey, M.S., The Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar, p. 122

5. op.cit., Pandey, M.S., pp. 122-23

6. Pandey, M.S., p. 121

and by A.D. 637 when Hsuan Tsang visited the city it had become a thriving centre of Hindu Brahmanical religion.[1]

The religious importance of Gaya is met with in the Mahabharata,[2] Ramayana[3] and Puranas.[4] The Gaya has a special religious importance with reference to Sradha ceremony[5].

2. Khad (ta) para (No. 29, L. 7)[6]:

The inscription came from a place Dhanaidaha inthe Natore subdivision of the Rajashahi district (in Pundravardhana).[7] So this visaya may be assigned to the Pundravardhana bhukti. The name of the district cannot be read with certainty. Sen[8] suggests three readings: Maha-khushapara, Khada (ta) para, or Khusaspara. Banerji gives the reading 'Maha-khusapara.[9]

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1. Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 64

2. Ch. 84, verses 82-98: ch. 87, verses 8-12: ch. 88, 14

3. Ayodhya Kanda, 107, 13

4. Vayu Purana, II, chs. 105 ff: 'Gaya-mahatmya': Kurma Purana, 30.45-48: Brahma Purana, 67.19, Agni Purana, 109. Cf. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 225-26

5. It has been discussed in detail by Kane in his History of Dharmasastra Vol. IV, pp. 662-679, Malley, L.S.S.O.,Bengal District Gazetteers, Gaya Vol. III, 1906 pp.59-72

6. विज्ञापिता इह लादा (टा) पार - विषये ----

7. Sen, B.C., Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 110

8. Ibid. 9. पहाड़ापार Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, ed. 1965, p. 288, f.n. 5

Kotivarsa (No. 34, L. 3: No. 35, L. 3: No. 37, L. 3: No. 38, L. 3):

It has been described as a visaya under Pundravardhana-bhukti. This reference clearly shows that the size of a visaya was smaller than that of a bhukti. The visaya of Kotivarsa occurs frequently in the epigraphic records of the Palas and Senas[1]. It seems to have comprised the southern part of the Dinajpur district, the northern portion of Rajashahi and probably also the eastern tracts of the Bogra district.[2] Its head-quarters was Diw-kot (Devakota or Devikota).[3] Yadavaprakasa identifies Kotivarsa with Devikotta.[4] The Vayu Purana also refers to a city of the name of Kotivarsa.[5]

The Prakrit Lexicon Paia-sadda-mahannavo describes it as the capital of Lata country.[6] The name is known to the Jain Prajnapana in which it is placed in Ladha or Lata.[7]

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1. Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 230

2. Sen, B.C., Some Historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, p. 107

3. Majumdar, R.C., History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 25: Law, B.C., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 188, f.n. 4

4. 'Yadavaprakasa on the Ancient Geography of India,' I.H.Q., XIX, p. 224

5. Vol. I, chap. XXIII, v. 196

6. पाइयसद्द महण्णवो p. 262, col. 2, see कोटीवरिस

7. Loc. cit., Sen, B.C., p. 106, see F.N.

Hemacandra[1] says that Kotivarsa, Banapura, Devikota, Vinavana and Sonitapura are identical. Purusottama[2] agrees with Hemacandra with the only difference that he mentions Usavana in place of Umavana. Banapura is represented by Bangarh in the Dinajpur district, which still preserves the extensive ruins of a citadel known as Damdamah said to have been the fort of Devikota associated with the exploits of the mythical king Bana.[3] Diw-kota or Devikota (wrongly read as Dihikota in the A-In-i-Akbari) was a mahal under the Sarkar of Lakhnauti (Laksanavati).[4]

The termination varsa is significant. It denotes a division of the earth as separated off by mountain ranges.[5] Varsam in Panini[6] means the rainy season. We know that rains are connected with the mountains. So originally the divisions might have been made according to the rains in different areas. Rains being very important for agriculture affect the inhabitants of a certain area throughout the year. Later

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1. Abhidhanacintamani, 390

2. Trikandasesa, 32

3. Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, pp. 106-107

4. Ibid., p. 106: JRAS, 1896, p. 112: JASB (NS), Vol. V, pp. 215-16

5. M.W., p. 926, col. 3, Cf. Bharatavarsa

6. 3.3.56

on the semantic development of the word came to denote a year. In India the seasons have been regarded to be important and hence they had often been used to denote the year.[1]

Krmila (No. 41, L. 5):

The Visaya or district of Krmila also spelt as Krimila is mentioned in inscription No. 41. According to D.C. Sircar as the charter is spuriousand seems to have been forged a few centuries after Samudragupta's time, it may or may not prove the existence of a visaya and therefore of a city of the above name in the fourth century."[2] But certain old seals found at Nalanda prove the existence of Krmila before the Pala occupation of Bihar.[3] The village Kavala in the Krimila-visaya known from one such seal can be identified with modern Kawali not far from Valgudar.[4] The visaya or district of Krmila is also mentioned in the records of the Palas of Bengal and Bihar.[5]

According to a tradition recorded in the Harivamsa,[6] Vayu

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1. In the Vedic times we said, " जीवेम शरदः शतम् " See शरदः (Cf. Summer) for year: " मा निषाद । प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः," उत्तर रामचरित, २५, काव्यमीमांसा, तृतीयो ध्यायः २०१ the use of वर्ष (वर्षा) is very popular now-a-days. Vasanta was also used कति वसन्तान् यागिता: पुरि ? "
2. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India, p. 197
3. M.A.S.I., No. 66, pp. 34, 54
4. Loc. cit., Sircar, D.C., p. 197
5. Monghyr Plate of Devapala, E.I., XXVIII, pp. 304 ff.
6. I, 31, 24-28

Purana[1] and the Brahmanda[2] Purana Krmi, the son of king Usinara of the Puru dynasty, born of his second queen Krmi, was the lord of Krmilapuri.[3]

In the Buddhist literature, we get various forms for the city of Krmila: Kimila, Kimmila and Kimbila. The name of an inhabitant of the city is given as Kimila, Kimmila or Kimbila. Malalasekhara[4] recognises the spellings Kimila or Kimbila and Kimila or Kimbila, but prefers the forms Kimbila and Kimbila. Kimila can be the Pali form of Sanskrit Krmila (or Krimila), and Kimmila can be derived from the other Sanskrit variant Kirmila.[5] Two Suttas, the Kimilasutta and Kimilasutta, were preached by the Buddha when he was camping at the city of Kimila (Krmila) said to have been situated on the bank of Ganga. The river is now at a short distance from the villages of Valgudar and Rajauna, on the site of which the ancient city stood.[6]

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1. 99, 18-22

2. III. 74

3. Sircar, D.C., "The City of Krmila', Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume: Pandey, M.S., 'The Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar, p. 159

4. Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, Vol. I, pp. 604-06

5. Sircar, D.C., Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume, pp. 275-76

6. ibid.

M.S. Pandey[1] opposes the identification of Krmila with Balgudar on the ground that there is not sufficient evidence. Though Krmila is not referred to in early Pali Literature, we find a city named Krmila mentioned in the Anguttara Nikaya Commentary.[2] According to this commentary, the city stood on the bank of the Ganga. But now-a-days, the Ganga flows at some distance from this region which may be due to a change in the course of the river during so many centuries. The city was not very important and may have gradually disappeared. At present we do not find any traces of the city: it may have been washed away by the Ganga. According to Pandey[3] the name of the modern village Kiul has some resemblance with the name Krmila and it is not unlikely that the city may have been somewhere in that locality.

Sircar is himself not sure about the identification of Krmila with Valgudar[4] and seems to prefer the claim of modern Kawali not being far from Valgudar Krmila.[5] But in the District Gazetteer of Monghyr it is the village of Kiul which is mentioned and not Kawali. Hence we prefer the view of Dr. Pandey.

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1. Pandey, M.S., The historical geography and topography of Bihar, p. 159
2. Vol. II, p. 642 (Pt. II, Pali Text Society)
3. Loc. cit., p. 159
4. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India, p. 196
5. ibid., p. 197

The word Krmila means "a fruitful woman" or "a place full of worms" and the word Krmi forming its first part is sometimes also written as Krimi.[1]

5. Lata (No. 17, L. 3)[2]:

The district or visaya of Lata is here described as "pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (their) flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods, and with viharas, (and) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation."

'The country south of Mahi or at times south of the Narbada up to the Purva or so far as Daman was called Lata and 'it corresponded roughly with Southern Gujarat.'[3] It comprised the collectorates of Surat, Bharoch, Kheda and parts of Baroda territory.[4]

According to Prof. Bühler, Lata is Central Gujarat, the district between the Mahi and Kim rivers and its chief city was Broach.[5] Lata has been identified with Central and

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1. Sircar, D.C., 'The ancient city and district of Krmila', I.H.Q. XXVI, June 1950, No. 2: Abhidhanacintamani, V. 558

2. लाट - विषयान्नागवृत - शैलाज्जाति प्रथित - शिल्पा: ॥

3. Sakalia, H.D., loc. cit., p. 9
Cf. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India, p. 114

4. Dey, N.L., loc. cit., p. 114

5. Ibid.

Southern Gujarat in the Rewah Stone Inscription of Karna.[1] We also find the Lata kingdom mentioned in other epigraphical records.[2] Latarastra[3] is identical with the old Lata kingdom of Gujarat, the capital city of which is stated in Dipavamsa to have been Simapura (Sihapura).[4] In the early days of the imperial Guptas, the Lata country was formed into an administrative province in the Latavisaya.[5] The Saktisangam Tantra places the Lata country to the west of Avanti and to the north-west of Vidarbha.[6]

Lata is the same as the Larike of Ptolemy which lay to the east of Indo-Scythia along thesea-coast.[7] The word Lata is derived from Sanskrit Rastra.[8] The Nagara Brahmanas of Lata

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1. E.I., XXIV, Pt. III, July 1937, p. 110

2. E.I. IX, pp. 278-80, JASB, Vol. VIII, p. 292, Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 114

3. Pali Lalaratttha

4. Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 287

5. op. cit. Ibid.

6. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India, p. 79: Saktisangam Tantra, Book III, Chapter VII. v. 55

   अवन्तीत: पश्चिमे तु वैदर्भादक्षिणोत्तरे ।
   लाटदेश: समाख्यातो ---- ॥

7. McCrindle, Ptolemy's Ancient India, pp. 38, 152-53

8. M.W. p. 900, col. 2

(Gujarat) are said to have invented the Nagari character which is believed to have been derived from the Brahmi alphabet.[1]

6. Vaivya (No. 41, L. 4):[2]

In this inscription the visaya of Vaivya is mentioned. The word Vaivya is inexplicable. We may however suggest that the term was possibly derived from Prakrit Vevva[3] which means 'fear' and hence Vaivya would mean 'fearful' or dreadful'.

Place-names ending in Mandala

Mandala.-

Mandala is a territorial unit which is found in the inscription of many dynasties of the early medieval period. Originally it denoted in the Arthasastra and other legal texts[4], a diplomatic circle of twelve neighbouring kings, some friendly and others unfriendly, in relation to a king desious of conquest. The term could also be used for the territory under the possession of a feudatory. But in the Gupta period mandala is used for some kind of administrative division though in early medieval period its use was in feudalistic

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1. Loc. cit., Dey, N.L., p. 114

2. वैव्यवैषमिक

3. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो p. 822, col. 2

4. VI.1.2 (Arthasastra), Manu, VII, 155-57

association[1]. In Calukyan records, the governor of a mandala was usually called a Mandalesvara or Mahamandalesvara.[2] In the records of the Imperial Gupta it denoted a unit smaller than a Vithi.[3] Literally meaning a circle or round it denotes a district, province, country in general or it may signify a surrounding district or neighbouring state.[4]

1. Nagirattanmandala (No. 28, LL. 1-2):

Nagirattamandala formed a part of Daksinasakavithi in Pundravardhana, the headquarters of the province of the same name. Mula-Nagiratta seems to have formed the headquarters of the Nagirattamandala.[5] Nagiratta is a Prakritised form of Nagarastra.

2. Uttaramandala (No. 53, L. 7):

Literally it means 'the Northern Mandala'. The province might have been divided into four mandalas in the four directions from the point of view of administration. The village Kantedadaka is described to have formed a part of the Uttaramandala as mentioned in the record.[6]

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1. Gopal, K.K., I.H.Q. March & June 1963, pp. 83-4
2. Sankalia, H.D.loc. cit., p. 43
3. No. 28, LL. 1-2 --- दक्षिणाशिखवीथ्यं - नागिरट्ट - पाण्डलिक ------
4. M.W., p. 775, col. 3
5. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 360, f.n.1
6. No. 53, L. 7

----- उत्तरपाण्डलिक - कान्तेउदक - ग्रामे ---

Place-names with the suffix Pradesa:

Pradesa- Fleet translates it as 'place'[1] but the term has a specific use as an administrative division. Here it connotes a division[2] or may correspond with the word visaya used in the same context in the Eran Stone Boar Inscription of Toramana.[3] In modern usage pradesa signifies a province.

In our inscriptions we find only one place-name termed as Pradesa.

(i) Airikina (No. 2, L. 25):

It has been described here as the bhoga-nagara of the king (sva-bhoga-nagara).[4] In this context the use of the phrase 'Svabhoganagara' is important. K.P. Jayaswal[5] interprets 'svabhoganagara' as a town that had, since the victory scored by the Gupta king at Eran, become his direct personal possession. Fleet

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1. C. 11.III.p. 21

2. If connotation is the same as in Mauryan period. See Altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India, p. 206. Rajjukas who may correspond to the modern Divisional Commissioners were also known as Pradesikas.

3. C. 11.III, p. 161. The word visaya means a district, L.7: - स्व विषये [illegible] किले का रित ।

4. - स्वभोगनगरे [illegible] किल - प्रदेशे ।

5. History of India, 150 A.D. - 350 A.D., p. 141

translates it as 'the city of his own enjoyment'.[2]

Dasaratha Sharma[3] explains it as analogous to the word 'Ekabhoga' defined in the Manasara as a town or village inhabited by a single land-holder along with his dependants.[4] It is 'Svabhoga for the master and 'Ekabhoga' for others' Sharma connects this 'Svabhoga' with a feudatory 'who lived therein with his family and dependents, and on whom Samudragupta, pleased by his 'devotion, policy, and valour' confered the title of Rajan and the accompanying glories of consecration, etc. described in verse,4[5] But Sharma seems to be incorrect in associating the inscription with a feudatory, the inscription belongs to Samudragupta himself which is clear by further description in subsequent verses.[6] No doubt in the Eran Stone Boar Inscription of Toramana[7] the word 'Sva-visaya' an adjectival clause of

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2. C.I.I. III, p. 21

3. J.I.H., Vol. XIV, 1935, p. 29

4. विप्रैर्वान्यैर्वणिग्भिर्वा भोग्यो ग्राम उदाहृतः,
एको ग्रामाधिपो यत्र समुत्पन्नपरिग्रहः।
कुटिकं तन्निजानीयादेकभोगः स एव हि,
जनैः परिवृतं प्रत्यंकृयधिक्रयकारिभिः ॥

5. J.I.H., Vol. XIV, 1935, p. 29

6. See the inscription, C.I.I. III, pp. 20-21

7. C.I.I. III, pp. 160-61

Airikina is used to refer to a feudatory, which is very clear from the inscription.

The editor[1] also, following Sharma, is mislead and explains the term 'Svabhoga' as 'implying a grant, or something like it by the governor of the province, who had for his own salary the revenues of the city of Airikina allotted to him.[2] But the term 'Svabhoganagara is significant in connoting royal status, higher than that of a feudatory chief and can mean 'the capital city' where the king himself was residing. In contrast in the Eran Stone Boar Inscription of Toramana[3] the term 'Sva-visaya' has been used for the feudatory Dhanyavisnu (of king Toramana) who may have been a visayapati, the administrator-incharge of Eran.

Airikina is the same as modern Eran, the ancient Airikina, a village on the left bank of the Bina, in Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh. From the Copper Coins of the Asokan period, found at Eran, we get an earlier Pali or Prakrit form of the name which is Erakana or Erakana.[4] It is thus clear that Erakana or Erakana is the simplified form of Erikina : to simplify still more the medial letter 'k' has been dropped by the process of elision.[5] The meaning of the word

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1. Ibid, J.I.H., Vol.XIV,1935,p.29: See editor's note.
2. Ibid, 'For a certain large division, the administrator is given as his salary the revenues of a nagara. Anybody, therefore, who governed a division in which Eran was an important city or even the Capital city, with the revenues of which allotted to him as assignment instead of salary, would be entitled to describe it by the term as svabhoga'.
3. C.I.I., III, pp.160-161
4. C.I.I., III, p.18, see also f.n.2
5. एरिकिण - एरकण - एरण ।

Erikina is a puzzle but its connexion with eraka 'a kind of grass,'[1] found in that area may be accepted as a hypothesis.

Place-names ending in Desa

Desa- It means a province, country, kingdom[2]. Sometimes it is used as a technical territorial term. But its exact meaning and bearing are difficult to explain due to the fact that sometimes it is described as bigger and at others smaller than other geographical divisions, such as mandala, Rastra and visaya.[3] We find only one reference each in the Brahmanas[4] and the Vajasaneyi Samhita.[5] The passage in the Vajasaneyi Samhita is significant in as much as here for the first time. Desa is used in the sense of a 'country', here we find a reference to the river Sarasvati as flowing in the Madhyadesa or 'Middle Country'. The term was much in vogue in the Upanisad and Sutra period denoting therein the meaning 'land'.[6]

1. Mleccha-desa (No. 14 L. 4): There is a mention of the Mlecch countries in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta (No. 14). But the record does not refer to any

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1. M.W., p. 232, col. I. In vernacular it is known as Eraka
2. M.W. p. 496, col. 2
3. C.I.I. III, pp. 32-33, f.n. 7
4. Aitareya Brahmana, viii. 10
5. xxxiv. 11

boundry of the Mlecchas.[1]

2. Sukuli-desa (No. 5, L. 4):- It will literally mean 'a country possessing noble families in it'. It seems to have been a place near Sanci in Madhya Pradesh.

Place-names ending in Rajya

Rajya.- Rajya means a kingdom, country, realm (= rastra).[2] In the Vedic period the term 'Rajya' regularly denoted sovereign power. In addition to this there were other expressions refering to sovereign power.[3] In the ritual of the Rajasuya the Aitareya Brahmana[4] gives a whole series of terms, Rajya, Samrajya, Bhaujya, Svarajya, Vairajya, Paramesthya, and Maharajya.

We find only one name ending with this suffix in our inscriptions which is given below:-

Airavata-go-rajya (No. 35, L. 9):

The name is not clearly legible. But D.C. Sircar takes the reading to be 'Airavata-go-rajye'. Airavata-go-rajya may literally mean 'a kingdom where elephants and cows are found'.[5] It was situated in the visaya of Kotivarsa which

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1. See Mlecchа amongst the 'Names of the tribes' in Section II
2. M.W., p. 875, col. I
3. Macdonell and Keith, The Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, Vol. II, pp. 220-21
4. viii, 12.4.5. Cf. Sankhayana Srauta Sutra, XVII.16,3
5. Airavata : from Iravat, a descendent of Iravat: name of a naga or mythical serpent, AV. VIII.10.29. Name of Indra's elephant (considered as the prototype of the elephant race): produced from ocean. See M.W., p. 234, col. 2

formed a part of the Pundravardhana bhukti.[1]

Place-names ending in Vithi

Vithi.- It is spelt both as vithi and vithi and means a row, line, road, way or street.[2] But in the inscription it has been used to refer to an administrative division. It seems to have been smaller than a visaya (district) and bigger than a mandala.[3]

We find only one name with this suffix in one inscription which is given below:

Daksinamsaka-vithi (No. 28, L.1):

Literally it means 'a road forming the southern part' of the city. It seems to have formed part of the Pundravardhan district and Nagirattamandala was included in it.[4]

Place-names with the suffix Patha

Patha (footpath):

'path' in Zend. The sanskrit spelling (th) is loaned from Iran. Greek relatives are patos (path) and pontos (mariners' path, sea-route: sea). Initial p is dropped in old Irish:

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1. No. 35, LL. 2-9

2. M.W. p. 1005, col. 1 : Vithi is perhaps formed from vi: cf. I. vita:

In Panjabi language vithe means a place in between the two things. Vithi is that which possesses a vitha. We know the formation of a street - it possesses the row of houses on both the sides and place in between is named as vithi.

3. No. 28, LL. 1-2: स्वस्ति (॥) पुण्ड्रवर्धनापाद्भुक्तकः आदर्शनगरे पिठ- पुरेण नाधिष्ठानाधिकरणम् दक्षिणांशकवीथेय - नागिरट्टमाण्डलिक - पलाशट्टपार्[?]

4. No. 28. LL. 1-2

pathin (path), and pons (bridge) recur as ath (ford)', Russian pant (path) and pent (ford).[1]

Monier Williams derives it from panth to go, to move. It means a way, path, a road or route.[2] In the Samaranganasutradhara[3] we find the word 'Jangha-path (foot-path)'. The suffix 'path' has been used as early as the later Vedic period.[4] Originally path meant 'a path', a road' but later on it to denote 'a country'. Even now-a-days, the suffix 'road' is used for inhabitations and localities.

Following are the place-names also ending in this suffix:

(1) Adyapatha (No. 44, L. 23):

It was situated to the east of a village called Gulmagandika.[5] Literally Adyapatha means 'the first route'. It seems to have been a small area like a mohalla.

(2) Daksinapatha (No. I, L. 20):

According to inscription No. 1 all the kings of the region of the north were conquered by Samudragupta who attained

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1. Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. IX, Oct. 1927, Pt. I. Earnest P. Horrwitz, Concise Semantic Dictionary, p. 300

2. M.W. p. 582, col. 2, V.S. Apte, Vol. II, p. 958

3. ed. by T.G. Sastri, 10/12: ed. D.N. Shukla, Hindi Trans. p. 1.3

4. Bhaudhayana Dharma Sutra, i, 1,2,13 vide Vedic Index I, p. 336. Aitareya Brahmana, IV, 17,8: Chandogya Upanisad, VIII, 6,2. vide Vedic Index, II, p. 141

5. No. 44 LL. 22-23 :

great fame by liberating them.[1] The kingdoms specifically named as included in the southern region are: Kosala, Mahakantara, Kurala, Pistapura, Kottura, Erandapalla, Kanci, Avamukta, Vengi, Palakka, Devarastra and Kusthalapura.[2]

Literally it means 'the path or road leading to the south' and in short the 'south country'. As a designation of the Deccan,[3] the term is found as early as the Baudhayana Dharmasutra[4]. A similar expression is daksina pada, 'with southward foot', occurring in the Rgveda,[5] and refers to the place to which exiles are expelled.[6] Thus the term denoted

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1. No. 1 L. 20: सर्व्वदक्षिणापथराज-ग्रहण-मोक्षानुग्रहजनित-प्रतापस्य ।

2. No. I. LL. 19-20: कौसलकमहेन्द्र-माहाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराज-माटराजपैष्टपुरकमहेन्द्रगिरि-कौट्टूरकस्वामिदत्तेरण्डपल्लकदमन-काञ्चेयक-विष्णुगोपावमुक्तकनीलराज-वैङ्गेयकहस्तिवर्म्म-पालक्कोग्रसेन-देवराष्ट्रक-कुबेर-कौस्थलपुरकधन जयप्रभृति - सर्व्वदक्षिणापथराज ---

3. Deccan is the anglicised form of 'Dakkhan' which is a corruption of the original Daksinapatha

4. i, 1, 2, 13

5. X.61,8

6. Loc. cit., Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 337

'the South' beyond the limits of the recognised Aryan world.

In the Buddhist literature originally the name seems to have been restricted to a remote settlement on the Upper Godavari.[1] Some hold that it was situated to the south of the Narbada: and was identical with the Dakhinabades of the Greeks.[2]

According to the Yadavaprakasa, Daksinapath is the name of the country to the south of the Vindhyas and includes Pandya, Kuntala, Cola, Maharastra, Kerala, Kulya, Setuja, Kulakalaka, Isika, Sabara, Aratta, and other countries.[3]

Rajasekhara places it ahead of Mahismati. Countries situated in it are: Maharastra, Mahisaka, Asmaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Krathakaisika, Surparaka, Kanci, Kerala, Kavera, Murala, Vanavasaka, Simhala, Coda, Dandaka, Pandya, Pallava, Ganga, Nasikya, Konkana, Kollagiri, Vallara, etc.[4]

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1. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India, p. 52: Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 14

2. Loc. cit., Dey, N.L., p. 52

3. 'Yadavaprakasa on the ancient Geography of India', I.H.Q., XIX, p. 214

4. काव्यमीमांसा, सप्तदशोऽध्यायः, पृ. 236

माहिष्मत्याः परतो दक्षिणापथः। यत्र महाराष्ट्रमाहिषकाश्मकविदर्भ-कुन्तलकपकेशिकसूर्पारककाञ्चीकेरलकावेरमुरलगनवासकसिंहलचोडदण्डकपाण्ड्य-पल्लवगाङ्गनाशिक्यकोङ्कणकोल्लगिरिवल्लरप्रभृतयो जपदाः।

Thus we see that Daksinapatha in later times came to represent more or less the whole of the south. The earliest epigraphic mention of Daksinapath is found in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman (150 A.D.): its ruler Satakarni[1] is said to have been defeated by Rudradaman.

Place-names with the suffix Pura

Pur or Pura

Pur is a word of frequent occurrence in the Rgveda[1]. The early Vedic Aryans were not city builders. Puras[2] which are mentioned from the context seem to have been always associated with the dasyus and the enemies of the Aryans.[3] Pura, the oldest Sanskrit word denoting city, is usually derived from the Dravidian ur. From what we read in the Rg Veda about Purandara's exploits in connection with the destruction of the ninety-nine puras of the Asuras who had been causing havoc to the gods, these puras seem to refer to the cities of the Indus Valley pre-Aryans.'[4] But the word ur is not available in Dravidian lexicons: on the contrary it is pura which is mentioned by them.[5] The word ur is not to be traced in the

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1. i,53,7: 58,8: 131,4: 166.8: iii. 15.4: iv. 27.1 etc. vide Mac and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 538

2. Taittiriya Aranyaka, I. 11,18,31,4

3. Amita Roy, Villages, towns and secular buildings in ancient India, c. 150 B.C. - c. 350 A.D., 1964, p. 47

4. op. cit., ibid.

5. T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau, A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, p. 285 - note: p. 523

I.E. languages.[1] We find Ur only as the name of a town in Babylonia.[2] In Tamil country, in the inscriptions of the Chola dynasty (c. 900-1300 A.D.) the word 'ur' is used to refer to 'The Primary Assembly of the villagers' in the case of ordinary villages while in the same context the word Sabha is used in case of agrahara villages, mostly tenanted by learned Brahmanas.[3]

In the later Vedic literature[4] the word Pur meant 'rampart', 'fort', or 'stronghold'. The meaning of Pura as 'city' developed later and was not at all in vogue in the Vedic literature.

Lexicons define it as a place containing large buildings surrounded by a ditch and extending not less than one Kosa in

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Tamil: Purai 'house, dwelling, small room, Malyalam : pura 'house (esp. thatched house), hut, room /? Skt. pura -- cf. Amara-Kosa, 3.3.184 gives the meaning of Pura as house, city etc.

1. Alois Walde : Vergeichendes Worterbuch Der Indogermanischen Sprachen II Band (Volume): Manfred Mayrhofer: 'A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary I. Heidelberg, 1953

2. Hall, H.R., The Ancient History of the Near East, 1952, pp. 190-191

3. Altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India, p. 225

4. Taittiriya Brahmana, i, 7,7,5: Aitareya Brahmana, i, 23: ii.11: Satapatha Brahmana, iii,4,4,3: vi.3,3,25: xi,I,I, 2,3: Chandogya Upanisad, VIII,5,3 etc. vide Mac. and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 538

length, if it extends for half that distance, it is called a kheta, if less than that, a karvata or small market town, any smaller cluster of houses is called a grama or village.[1] The Samaranganasutradhara describes puras as being of three kinds - Big, middle and small which have different measurements for their ditches, buildings, streets and road-ways.[2] The big one possesses a circumference of four thousand arcs, the middle of two thousand arcs and the small of one thousand arcs.[3] T. Burrow derives pura from pri to fill Piparti 'fills' : pur 'city' : Lithuanian pilis (l becomes r)[4]. We find the word being spelt in two ways Pur[5] and pura.[6] Pur (city), from puru (much) and purna (full) means 'plentitude' or multitude of settlers. Similarly Greek polis (city) from poly (much) : Latin populus (population, people) from plenus (full), and English folk from full. Pur is the city and purusa the citizen. Greek polites (citizens) is preserved in politics (civic concerns), police (city administration), and cosmopolitan (citizen of the world): Lithuanian pilis (fort, castle).[7]

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1. M.W. p. 635, col. 2-3. Cf. V.S. Apte, Vol. II, p. 1031: अमरकोष, पुर 2.2.1: अमरकोष, पुर(न) 3.3.184
2. Samarangana sutradhara ed. T. Ganapati Shastri, 10/1: ed. D.N. Shukla, p. 103

   पुरस्य त्रिविधस्यापि प्रमाणमथ कथ्यते ।
   प्राकारपरिखाट्टालद्वाररथ्याध्वभिः सह ॥ १ ॥
3. ibid., 10/2, ed. D.N. Shukla, p. 103

   ज्येष्ठं तत्र चतुश्चापसहस्रं पुर मिष्यते ।
   मध्यं द्वाभ्यां सहस्राभ्यामेकेन व्यासतोऽधमम् ॥
4. T. Burrow, Sanskrit Language, pp. 82,86: V.S. Apte, Vol. II, p. 1031: full of filled with -
5. पूः (=पुर्) अमरकोष, 2.2.1
6. पुर (पुरम्, नपु.) अमरकोष, 3.3.184
7. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Inst., Poona,

In modern times the word pura (from pura) is used for mohalla in India. It seems to be the result of Muslim contact.[1]

Pura, where it does not retain the original form pur, is changed into the following[2]

a) War: as Purushapura, Peshawar, Malapura, Narwar, Matipura, Madwar, Malwapura, Alwar, Chandrapura, Chandwar

b) Urs or ur, as Mayapura, Mayura, Simhapura, Singur, Juskapura, Zukur

c) Or, as Traipura, Teor, Chandradityapura, Chaindor

d) Ora, as Ilbalapura, Ellora

e) Ore, as Lavapura, Lahore

f) Ola, as Aryapura, Aihole

g) ar, as Kusumapura, Kumrar

h) aur, as Siddhapura, Siddhaur

i) Own, as Hiranyapura, Hindoun or Herdoun

There are many names with the suffix Pura in the Astadhyayi, Patanjali's Mahabhasya and the Kasika.[3] The word Mahapura in the Yajurveda Samhitas[4] and the Brahmanas[5] denotes

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'Concise Semantic Dictionary' by Earnest P. Horrwitz, p.300

1. Sankalia, H.D., Historical and cultural geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p. 72, f.n. 1

   Pura originally, as the author of Mirat-e-Ahmadi, supplement, says, was a suburb, or a place colonised by a Muslim king or his officer.

2. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, Preface, p. 2
3. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p. 66
4. Taittiriya Samhita, VI.2,3,1: Kathaka Samhita, xxiv.10: Maitrayani Samhita, iii,8.1
5. Aitareya Brahmana, i,23,2: Gopatha Brahmana, ii,2,7

a great fortress. Probably the only difference between the Pur and Mahapura was in their size.[1]

Following are the place-names ending in the suffix pura:

(1) Ajapura (No. 12, L. 25):

In Inscription No. 12, we find the mention of the town of Ajapura. The name of the visaya of which it was a part has been damaged. Since the column bearing the inscription was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihar,[2] we can easily identify Ajapura with the modern village of the same name in the Rajagrha visaya which is not very far from Nalanda.[3] The name of the visaya which included this town can possibly be restored as Rajagrha in the damaged part of the inscription.

(2) Candrapura[4] (No. 16, L. 5):

It is the same as Indrapura. See Indrapura.

(3) Dasapura (No. 17, L.4, L. 16):

In this inscription L. 4 refers to the migration of

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1. Mac. & Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 141

2. C.II. III, p. 47

3. Pandey, M.S., The Historical geography and topography of Bihar, p. 116; E.I. XVII, pp. 310-27

4. According to Prof. K.C. Chattopadhyaya, the vrddhi in Candrapura is grammatically incorrect. The vrddhi is desirable only in the first letter.

a guild of silk-weavers from Lata visaya (Central and Southern Gujarat) to the city of Dasapura. The guild came to this city attracted by the virtues of its kings.[1] The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Kumaragupta, under whom Bandhuvarman, the son of Visvavarman[2] was the governor at Dasapura. L. 16 of the inscription records that it was under the governorship of Bandhuvarman (in Malava era 493 = A.D. 437)[3], that a lofty temple of the Sun god was caused to be built by the guild of silk-cloth weavers at Dasapura.[4] Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair. And then it was restored by the same guild in the year 529 of the Malava era (= A.D. 473).[5]

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1. No. 17, LL. 3-4 V. 5:

   ते देश-पार्थिवगुणापहृताः प्रकाशमध्वा दिजान्यविरलान्यसुखान्यपास्य ।
   जातादरा दशपुरं प्रथमं मनोभिरन्वागताः ससुत-बन्धु-जनाः समेत्य ॥

2. C.1.1. III, p. 80

3. No. 17, L. 19

4. No. 17, LL. 16-17 V. 29:

   तस्मिन्नेव क्षितिपति-व्रि(वृ)षे बंधुवर्म्मण्युदारे,
   सम्यक्स्फीतं दशपुरमिदं पालयत्युन्नतांसे ।
   शिल्पावाप्तैर्धन-समुदयैः पट्टवायैरुदारं,
   श्रेणीभूतैर्भवनमतुलं कारितं दीप्तरश्मेः ॥

5. No. 17, LL. 20-21

Dasapura has been identified with Mandasor in Western Malwa[1] formerly in the Gwalior state. The ancient Dasapura stood on the north or left bank of the Siwana, a tributary of the river Sipra.[2] We also find its mentioned in the Mandasor Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Adityavardhana (c. 490-500 A.D.).[3] Under the Imperial Guptas the use of the Malava or the Krta era seems to have been confined to Dasapura[4]. Thus Dasapura may have been the main city of the Western Malavas. We also get a reference to Dasapura in the Brhatsamhita[5] and the Meghaduta[6] of Kalidasa.

The ancient Sanskrit name Dasapura also occurs in an early Nasik inscription of Usavadata,[7] and in one inscription of Vikram Samvat 1321 (= A.D. 1264) from Mandasor itself.[8]

There are two explanations of the name Dasapura or Dasor. The local explanation is that the place was originally a city

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1. C.11. III, p. 79: Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, pp. 280-81
2. Loc. cit., Law, B.C., p. 281: C.I.I. III, pp. 79-80
3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 410, L.2
4. No. 17
5. XIV, p. 120, V. 12:

   आकरदेशार्कदशपुरगोनर्दकेरलकाः ॥

   It mentions it a city in South
6. Pt. I, V. 48
7. Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind., Vol. IV, p.99, L. 2
8. C.I.I. III, p. 79, see f.n. 2

of the Puranic king Dasaratha. But, on this view, the name of the city should have been Dasarathapura or Dasarathore. Fleet points out that even now, the township includes some twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions (Khilchipur, Jankupura, Rampuriya, Chandrapura, Balaganja, etc.) and that when it was originally constituted, it included exactly ten (dasa) such hamlets (pura).'[1] This view of Fleet is more appealing.

Mandasor, the fuller form of the name of the town by which it is officially known and which is entered in maps, is also explained in two ways:

As suggested by Bhagwan Lal Indraji, it may represent Manda-Dasapura, "the distressed or afflicted Dasapura," refering to the overthrow of the town, and the destruction of the Hindu temples in it, by the Musalamans, in memory of which, even to the present day, the Nagar Brahmanas of the area do not drink water there. This is supported by the fact that some pandits still call it Mannadasor.[2]

F.S. Growse suggests that the name combines the two names of Mad and Dasapura: the former[3] being the name of a village (also called Afzalpur) about eleven miles south-east of Mandasor, from which, it is said, were brought, from ruined

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1. C.I.I. III, p. 79, f.n. 2

2. Ibid.

3. I.A., Vol. XV, p. 195

Hindu temples, the stones that were used in the construction of the Musalman fort at Mandasor.[1]

It is very difficult to choose between the two explanations, but the second seems to be more reasonable.

(4) <u>Indrapura</u> (No. 16, L.5, L.6, L.7, L. 8):

The inscription states that an endowment was given by a brahmana named Devavisnu for the maintenance of a lamp in a temple of the Sun established by the merchants of the town of Indrapura named ksatriyas Acalavarman and Brkunthasinha at Indrapura.

In line 5 we get 'Candrapuraka-Padma' as the reading is given by Fleet[2] and he thus considers it a separate town than Indrapura.[3] But the correct reading should be as 'Cendrapuraka-Padma', since we find a small stroke by the left side of 'c'. The stroke in other lines for 'e' is very clear (e.g. in L.2) though it is not very clear in L. 5 still we cannot read it simply 'c'. The reading 'ce' for 'c' has been suggested by Sircar and Jagannatha.[4] Thus we see that the Padma referred

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1. Ibid.

2. C.I.I. III, p. 70, L. 5

3. ibid., p. 71, see translation, LL. 5-7

4. Sircar, D.C., <u>Select Inscriptions</u> (ed. 1965), p. 319, L.5, ibid. f.n. 8: ibid., f.n. 9: Sircar translates:

"चैन्द्रापुरक-पद्मा-परातु छिर्वंदय-सामान्य-ब्राह्मण-देवविष्णुपूर्वैण-पुत्रो...।

in line 5 of this inscription also belongs to Indrapura.

Now we find two different spellings of Indrapura in lines 5 and 6 and Indrapura in lines 7 and 8.[1]

What we can find out here is that the affix 'ka' in lines 5 and 6 is very important which seems to have grammatically a succinct purpose here. The vrddhi of the first vowel 'i' was desirable here as is also clear by the use of affix 'ka' in the ALlahabad Inscription of Samudragupta.[2] So it is a weaker form of the affix 'ka', without vrddhi of the vowel in the first syllable.[3] The writer seems to have used the long vowel (with the last syllable of Indra) instead of vrddhi in the first syllable to avoid confusion between aindrapura and Indrapura. We do not find any such example

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as = "The brahmana Devavisnu who is the son of Deva and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of (the locality called) Padma in (the town called) Indrapura", Jagannath, Proc. I.H.C., Lahore, 1940, p. 59

1. Loc. cit., Sircar, D.C., p. 319, f.n. 8

2. No. I, LL. 19-20:

कौसलक-महेन्द्र-माहाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराजकौराठक-मण्टराज-पैष्टपुरकमहेन्द्रगिरिकौट्टूरकस्वामिकौरण्डपल्लकदमन-काचेयकविष्णुगोपावमुक्तकनीलराज-वैङ्गेयक-हस्तिवर्म्म-पालक्कोग्रसेन-देवराष्ट्रककुबेर-कौस्थलपुरकधनञ्जय-प्रभृति-सर्व्वदक्षिणापथराज....।

3. Fleet, C.I.I, III, p. 69

of the elongation of vowel in the classical Sanskrit literature though we find its rare use in Vedic Literature.[1] So we shall translate 'Indrapuraka Padma' as 'Padma of (the town of Indrapura and 'Indrapuraka-vanigbhyam' as 'merchants of (the town of) Indrapura. This Indrapura is the same as modern Indor,[2] near Dibhai, Bulandshahr District, U.P.[3] The ancient town of Indrapura was situated on a large and lofty mound about five miles to the north-west of Dibhai.[4] Now-a-days it is only a kheda or deserted mound, and is not shown in maps.[5]

(5) Kartrpura (No. I, L. 22):

Though the most accepted and correct reading is Kartrpura, some scholars prefer to read Katripura[6] or Katripura.[7]

It is one of the five frontier kingdoms[8] mentioned in

1. M.W., p. 166, col. 3: Ibid, p. 167, col. 1 : We find the form Indra-vat but in some cases (RV. iv,27,4 and x.101,1) we find the form Indra-vat, i.e. associated it with or accompanied by Indra.

2. Indrapura Indraura Indor

3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 318 No. 27

4. C.I.I. III, p. 68

5. Ibid., p. 68

6. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India, p. 96, also see p. 95

7. Law, B.C., Historical geography of Ancient India, p. 97

8. समट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्तृपुरा दिप्रत्यन्तनृपतिभि: .... ।

the inscription whose kings did homage and paid tribute to Samudragupta. Scholars differ in their views about the identification of this place-name:

According to Smith[1], this kingdom 'occupied the lower ranges of the western Himalayas, including probably Kumaon, Garhwal, and Kangra'. Oldham[2] holds that the kingdom of Katripura, included Kumaun, Almora, Garhwal and Kangra. Fleet[3] suggests that the name may survive in Kartarpur in the Jullundur district.

We prefer the view of Dasharatha Sharma[4]. His contention is that amongst the five frontier kingdoms mentioned in the inscription, the first three belong to the East, the fourth one belongs to the North, hence it will be better to leave aside the northern and eastern sides of the empire and to look for Kartrpura somewhere to the west of the Gupta dominions. Consequently he finds Karor or Karur to be a good equivalent for Kartrpura.[5] Kara here stands for Kartr and 'or or 'ur' would stand here for pura.[6] Karur, again, is to be preferred to the other alternatives on account of its associations with

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1. Smith, V.A., Early History of India (4th ed.), p. 302
   Cf. Ray Choudhuri, H.C., Political history of ancient India, (4th ed.), p. 457

2. J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 198

3. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, part II, p. 39: I.H.Q.I., p. 257

4. J.I.H., Vol. XIV, 1935, pp. 30-33

5. Ibid., p. 30

6. Cf. Purusapura Peshawar Pashaur
   There is still a small town named Karor in the triangle formed by the rivers Chenab and Sutlej

the Gupta period of Indian History. According to Al-Biruni, an eastern king, called Vikramaditya, put to flight and killed a Saka ruler in the region of Karur, between Multan and Loni.[1] This Vikramaditya is to be identified with Candragupta II 'the enemy of the Sakas', who disguised as his brother's wife, Dhruvasvamini, 'ripped upon the belley of the Saka ruler', and destroyed the Saka army, most probably, in Kartrpura or Karur.[2]

This was the first encounter between the Sakas and Vikramaditya, and Karur, Karor, or Kartrpura was the theatre of the war because of its intermediate position between the Saka dominions and the Gupta empire.[3]

(6) Kripura (No. 53, L. 1):

Kripura was the place from which Vainyagupta issued his land-grant in 507-08 A.D., was evidently the seat of his government.[4] It was the victorious camp full of great ships and elephants and horses (situated)[5]. The place is of unknown identity,[6] but is possibly to be looked for in Bengal.[7]

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1. Sachau Al Biruni's India, ii, 6
2. J.I.H., XIV, p. 30
3. Majumdar, R.C., History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 50
4. ibid., Vol. I, p. 50
5. I.H.Q., Vol. 6, p. 53:

महा-नौ-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारात क्रीपुरार्द ------।

6. Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 94
7. Majumdar, R.C., loc. cit., p. 50

Literally the name can mean a 'market-town'.

(7) Kusthalapura (No. I, L. 20):

Kusthalapura ruled by Dhananjaya is mentioned as one of the Daksinapatha kingdoms subdued by Samudragupta. Smith takes it to be a mistake for Kusasthalapura,[1] and identifies it with the holy city of Dwarka, the capital of Anartta, i.e. North Gujarat.[2] Raj Bali Pandey also identifies it with Kusasthali (Dwarka).[3] G. Ramdas locates the place in Gujarat following Smith.[4] Monier Williams also identifies Kusasthala with the town of Dwarka.[5] Bhandarkar, following Barnett identifies the place with Kuttalur near Polur in North Arcot.[6]

This Kusasthali is not situated in Gujarat but presumably on the eastern spurs of the Vindhya range near Daksinakosala.[7] It was the cpital of Kusa, son of Ramcandra[8].

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1. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, part II, p. 36

2. ibid.

3. Historical and literary inscriptions, p. 74, f.n. 1

4. I.H.Q.I., p. 254, Calcutta Review, 1924, p. 253 note

5. Loc. cit. Diskalkar, D.B., p. 37

6. M.W., p. 297, col. 1

7. Op. cit. Pargiter, Ancient Indian historical tradition, p. 279: Chaudhari, S.B., Cf. Ethnic Settlements in ancient India, p. 64

8. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 111

But its position in the list of the states of Daksinapatha indicates a place a little more to the south.

By the process of Haplology,[1] Kusasthalapura is simplified into Kusthalapura which may be changed to Kusasthali or Kusavati in short.

The suffix sthala or sthali is significant: it suggests a high-lying country, an eminence, table-land, or dry-land as opposed to a damp low-land.[2] The Mahabharata, Harivamsa, early Jain and Pali literature use the word in these senses.[3] The Mahabharata mentions both Kusasthala as well as -- sthali. The latter is supposed to be another name of Dwarka.[4]

(8) Pataliputra (No. 7, L. 12, No. 6, L. 4, No. 1, L.14):

It is the same as modern Patna situated to the south of the river Ganga. Inscription No. 7 refers to Pataliputra. Inscription No. 6 mentions Virasena, the child of Kutsa the minister for peace and war under Candragupta II, who knew the meanings of the words, and logic, and (the ways of) mankind:- who was a poet:- and who belonged to (the city of) Pataliputra.[5] Inscription No. 1 mentions a city named Puspa where

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1. If two similar syllables come together in Sandhi, one is dropped.

2. M.W. p. 1261, col. 3

3. op. cit. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of Gujarat, p. 54 Boethlingk and Roth, 1282: Abhidhana, IV, 2386: Childers, 502

4. Ibid., p. 55

5.

Samudragupta enjoyed playfully while he was young.[1] Apparently, the city was the Gupta capital. We also find the word Pataliputa (Pataliputra) used by Asoka, in his rock edicts.[2] The city was also known as Kusumapura due to the abundance of flowers.[3] Its name Puspapura is also met with in the Raghuvamsa.[4] It is mentioned in the Mudraraksasa as well.[5] The Kathasaritsagara of Somadeva[6] (11th century) describes it as a place of both welath and education though generally there is a fight between Sri (laksmi) and

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1. दण्डैर्ग्राहयतैव कोत-कुलजं पुष्पाह्वये क्रीडता ....

2. Girnar, Rock Edict No. 5, line 7 (Hultzsch) p. 9

   --- पाटलिपुते च बाहिरेसु च ।

3. विविधतीर्थकल्प, पृ. 68:

   तत्र पाटला(पाडलि) नाम्ना पाटलिपुत्रं नगरमासीत् ।

   असाधारणकुसुमबहुलतया च कुसुमपुरमित्यपि रूढम् ।

4. 6.2.4:

   प्रासादवातायनसंश्रितानां नेत्रोत्सवं पुष्पपुराङ्गनानाम् ।

5. 2.3: and 4.16

6. 3.78:

   तथिदं दिव्यं नगरं मायारचितं सपौरमत एव ।

   नाम्ना पाटलिपुत्रं क्षेत्रं लक्ष्मीसरस्वत्योः ॥

Sarasvati.[1]

The Kavyamimamsa of Rajasekhara (c. 900 A.D.) mentions a tradition that there were assemblies of scholars called 'Brahmasabhas' organised by kings, which examined poets like Kalidasa, Bhartrmantha, Amara, Rupa, Aryasura, Bharavi and Candragupta in Visala (Ujjaini) and whereas such great masters of grammar such as Upavarsha, Varsha, Panini, Pingala, Vyadi, Vararuchi and Patanjali were examined in Pataliputra and attained fame.[2]

The Manjusrimulakalpa[3] (c. 800 A.D.) mentions Pataliputra as Nandanagara. This work refers to king Nanda, his learned Council of Brahmana philosophers and to his intimacy with Panini. "After him (Surasena) there will be king Nanda at Puspa city. In the capital of the Magadha residents there will be Brahmana controversialists (Brahmanastarkita bhuvi,

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1. All S.I. of Samudragupta (No. 1) L. 6 सत्काव्य-श्री-विरोधान्.

Cf. परस्पर विरोधस्य तस्य राज्ये कथैव का ।
संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योरपि येन प्रवर्तितम् ॥ E.I., I., p.209

2. काव्यमीमांसा, दशमोऽध्यायः, पृ. 143
'श्रूयते च पाटलिपुत्रे शास्त्रकारपरीक्षा ----
'अत्रोपवर्षवर्षाविह पाणिनिपिङ्गलाविह व्याडिः ।
वररुचिपतञ्जलीह परीक्षिताः ख्यातिमुपजग्मुः ॥'
For the gramarians, see : India as known to Panini, p. 12

3. Verse 782. Cf. 'Nandapura'. The historical geography and topography of Bihar, p. 135

verse 425) and the king will be surrounded by them. The king will give them riches. His minister was a Buddhist Brahmana, Vararuci, who was of high soul, kind and good. His great friend was a Brahmana, Panini by name."[1]

The Kasika[2] records two divisions of Pataliputra:

1. Purva-Pataliputra (eastern on the Ganga)
2. Apara-Pataliputra (western on the Sona)

Patanjali[3] mentions the western Pataliputra.

A citizen of Pataliputra was called Pataliputraka.[4]

The city is named as Palibothra by Megasthenes, the Ambassador of Seleucus Necator at the court of king Candragupta Maurya.[5] The Pala inscriptions refer to it by the name Srinagara.[6]

The termination 'Putra' in Pataliputra is difficult to explain. We find it being used with 'brahma' to denote the river 'brahmaputra'. As regards place-names we find the mention of Satiya-puta (Satiya-putra) and Kerala-puta)Kerala putra) in Asokan Rock-edicts.[7]

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1. Agrawala, V.S., India as known toPanini, pp. 11-12, Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, p. 14
2. VII. 3.14
3. Mahabhasya, I.1.2. 'Anusonam Pataliputram'.
4. Kasika, IV.2.123. 'Ropadhetoh Fracham': India as known to Panini, p. 75
5. Modi, J.J., J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXVI. "Ancient Pataliputra" p. 461
6. E.I., XVII, p. 321
7. Rock Edict 2,L.2: see Historical Geography of Ancient India

The name Pataliputra is taken to mean "the son (putra) of Patali, i.e. the trumpet flower. The words Puspapura and Kusumapura also mean 'a city of flowers'. The word 'Srinagara' means 'a beautiful city'.[1] Because of the abundance of flowers the city may have looked beautiful.

The meaning of 'Pataliputra' is explained in the legendary origin of the city. According to the legend: there was a brahmana of high talent and singular learning. Many flocked to him to receive instruction. One day all his students went out on a tour of observation. One of them looked verysad. When asked, he told that his life was waning without any company. In a joke his friends made the Patali tree under which they were standing, his father-in-law: in other words he was to marry the daughter of the tree, or a Patali flower (Bignonia Suaveolens).[2] As the Sun was about to set, all the students proposed to return home but the young student fascinated by love stayed there fearlessly. Accidentally, next day he was married with the young daughter of an old couple. After a year his wife gave birth to a son. He declined to stay there fearing the exposure to wind and weather. But the

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1. by B.C. Law, Satiyaputra, pp. 186-87: Keralaputra, pp. 163-64. Dr. Pandey in the Historical geography and topography of Bihar, pp. 136-37 writes "No other city of ancient India known to us had a name ending in putra"

1. 'The illustrious city. i.e. the city par excellence, Majumdar, R.C., "History of Bengal. Vol. I. p. 273

2. J.B.B.R.A.S., XXVI, p. 462, f.n. 4

old man (the father of the wife) constructed a house for him and made him stay there. When the old capital of Kusumapura was changed, this town was chosen, and as the Genii built the mansion for the youth the country was named as Pataliputrapura (the city of the son of the Patali tree)."[1]

It is not unlikely that originally the name of the city was Pataliputrapura and that later the suffix Pura was dropped.

The Buddhist literature informs us that Pataliputra was originally a village known as Pataligama. Ajatasatru is said to have fortified it in order to check the attacks of the Licchavis who often harassed its inhabitants. The Buddha on his way from Rajagriha to Vaisali, passed through this village on his last journey and is said to have predicted that the village was destined to become a great city.[2]

The Vayu-Purana attributes the real foundation of Pataliputra to Raja Ajata-Satru's grandon, Oudaya or Oudayasva. It was he who first removed the capital from Rajagriha to that place(during the last part of the 6th century B.C.).[3]

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1. op. cit., J.B.B.R.A.S., XXVI, p. 463: There is some difference in the description : see Vividhatirthakalpa, pp. 67-71, Buddhist records of the Western World by Samuel Beal (1884), Vol. II, pp. 82-85: 'Legendary Origin of Patna'. I.A., Vol. III, pp. 149-50

2. Pandey, M.S., The historical geography and topography of Bihar, pp. 135-36: B.C. Law, Historical geography of ancient India, pp. 249-50

3. Vayu Purana, ch. 99.319: Gargi Samhita, lines 9-12, J.B.O. R.S.)1928), p. 401

Pataliputra had the honour to be the capital of the Saisunagas, the Nandas, the Mauryas and the great Imperial Guptas uptil the Huna Invasion in the 6th century A.D. when it was ruined. Harsavardhana (7th century A.D.) made no attempt to restore it. Sasanka Narendragupta destroyed many Buddhist temples and monasteries at Pataliputra.[1] Dharmapala, the most powerful of the Pala kings of Bengal and Bihar, tried to restore its glory.[2]

Coming to Muslim times, we find that it remained deserted for a number of centuries. It was Sher Shah, who, in about 1541 A.D. occupied it again as a royal city and built a fort there. It then came into importance under its modern name Patna (from Skt. Pattana) i.e. the town or city. It is even now the capital of Bihar.[3]

(9) Pistapura (No. I, L. 19):

It has been mentioned as one of the southern regions which were first captured and then liberated by Samudragupta.[4] Mahendragiri is mentioned as its king. Pistapura is the same

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1. H.C. Vidyabhusana, History of Indian Logic, p. 349

2. V.A. Smith, Early history of India, 4th ed., pp. 310-11. Also see for further details J.B.B.R.A.S., XXVI, pp. 464-68

3. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXVI, p. 468

4. No. I, L. 20:

सर्व्वदि[illegible] ...।

as the fortress Pistapura caputred by the Calukya king Pulakesin II. The Tandivada grant of Prthivi Maharaja also refers to Pistapura.[1] Pistapura is the modern Pithapuram in the Godavari district of the Madras Presidency.[2] It was the capital of Kalinga.[3] 'Kalingadhipati' Anantavarman issued a grant[4] from the victorious city of Pistapura. This grant records that Anantavarman's grandfather Gunavarman ruled over Devarastra with Pistapura as its chief city,[5] In our inscription Devarastra[6] has been treated separately. It seems that during Samudragupta's time these two states (Devarastra and Kalinga) were separate states but later on under Gunavarman they were amalgamated.

Guha ruled over the whole of Kalinga and the neighbouring regions[7]. Guha belonged to the Salankayana family of

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1. E.I. XXIII, pt. III, July 1935, p. 97: Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 182

2. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, part II, p. 36: E.I. XII, p. 2: Law, B.C., loc. cit., p. 182

3. I.C., XIII, pp. 85-90: N.L. Dey, the geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 157

4. E.I., XXIII, p. 57

5. Chaudhury, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 77, also see f.n. 15: Law, B.C., loc. cit., p. 182

6. No. I, L. 20

7. कलिङ्गा महिषाश्चैव महेन्द्रमिलयाश्च ये ।
एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् पालयिष्यति वै गुहः ॥
see I.C., XIII, pp. 85-90

Brahmanas, Samudragupta installed him as his viceroy in Kalinga.[1] Guha was already reigning over Kalinga (with his capital at Pistapura) when Samudragupta conquered him and placed him as his feudatory. 'Mahendragiri' may have been his another name given to him on account of the extension of his dominion over the Mahendra mountain.[2] It is interesting to note that Kalidasa[3] refers to Raghu defeating a king named Mahendranatha in the course of his southern campaign. It is tempting to connect Mahendranatha with Mahendragiri. After the victory of Samudragupta, Guha was confirmed in the enjoyment of sovereignty under the imperial tutelage.[4]

At Pistapura there is a Vaisnava temple named Kuntimadhava.[5] We get references to Pistapuri or Pistapurikadevi, a form at Manapura, of the goddess Laksmi, in the inscriptions of the Privrajaka Maharajas and the Maharajas of Uccakalpa during the Gupta period.[6] This must be a local form of some popular goddess at Pistapura itself.[7]

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1. I.C., XIII, pp. 85-90
2. ibid.
3. रघुवंश, चतुर्थः सर्गः, श्लो. 43
   गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः।
   श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम्॥
4. Loc. cit., I.C., XIII, pp. 85-90
5. Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 182
6. Fleet, C.II.III, pp. 113, 116, 132, 138
7. Ibid., p. 113, f.n. 2

Place-names ending in the suffix Nagara:

Nagara

Nagara means a town, a city.[1] We find the term being used by Panini (IV.2.142).[2] The word Nagaraka (or Nagarika)[3] also occurs in Sanskrit literature as standing for 'an inhabitant for a town' but sometimes its use was restricted for the chief of a town or a police-officer. In modern time nagarika is used to refer to 'a citizen of a state whether living in city or village.'

In the early Vedic literature Nagara is found only as the derivative adjective Nagarin, used as a proper name, but it appears in the sense of 'town' in the Taittiriya Aranyaka (I.11,18: 31,4) and frequently in the later works.[4]

Nagara is an important factor which helps us to distinguished Janapada from rastra: nagara forms a part of the rastra but is excluded from the Janapada.[5] Samaranganasutradhara uses Nagara and Pura as synonyms.[6] It is significant that the word Nagara is of late occurrence.[7] It is hardly likely that in the early Vedic times city life does not seem to have developed much. In the Epic,[8] there are references to

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1. M.W., 525, col. I
2. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p. 65
3. M.W., 534, col. I
4. Mac. and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 432
5. Samaranganasutradhara by T.G. Shastri, 18 7
   Hindi trans. ed. D.N. Shukla, p. 99
6. Ibid., 10/79-81: Hindi trans. ed. D.N. Shukla, p. 108
7. Mac. & Keith, loc. cit., p. 539
8. Hopkins, Jour. of the Amer. Orient. Soc., Vol. 13,77,174

Nagara, 'a city': Grama 'village': and Ghosha 'ranch'. Vedic literature especially of the earlier period is generally confined to the village. The siege of puras is mentioned in the Samhitas and Brahmanas.

The word Nagara is changed into:[1]

a) Nar as Kusinagara, Kusinar, Girinagara, Girnar

b) Ner as Jirnanagara, Jooner.

In modern times the suffix nagara is sometimes used to denote an inhabitation or Mohalla e.g. Tilak, Nagar, Subhash Nagar, Patel Nagar, Jawahar Nagar, Lajapat Nagar.

We do not find any place-name with the suffix 'nagara' in our records but with a little change in the same sense with the suffix nagari, which is given below:

Pancanagari (No. 45, L. 1):

It was the chief town of the district, where Kulavrddhi's Court was situated.[2] D.C. Sircar considers it to be modern Panchbibi in the Bogra District and the same as Pentapolis of Ptolemy.[3]

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1. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieaval India, Preface, p. 2

2. No. 45, L. 1:

स्वस्ति (॥) प चनगर्यां भट्टारकपादानुध्यातः कुमारामात्यकुलवृद्धि-

रैतद्विषयाधिकरण च .....।

3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 356, f.n.2 Panchbibi may have come through Prakrit Pancanaari modified to Pancanari.

Pancanagari literally means 'a multitude of five towns'. Five small localities might have been collected into one for the smoothness of administration.

Place-names ending in Nauyoga:

Nauyoga: Literally meaning 'a place for parking boats' it signifies 'a harbour'. Following are the place-names which have been termed as 'nauyoga' or harbour.

1. Cudamani[1] (No. 53, L. 28): Literally meaning 'a jewel worn by men and women on the top of the head' it denotes 'the best or most excellent'.[2] Combined with its epithet anuyoga, Cudamani signifies 'the best of harbours'.

2. Nagarasri (No. 53, L. 28): Literally Nagarasri means 'the glory of the town'. Combined with its epithet nauyoga it means 'the harbour of Nagarasri'. It seems to have been an important part of the town.

3. Pradamara (No. 53, L. 29): It has also been described as a nauyoga.[3]. The meaning of Pradamara is difficult to

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1. No. 53, L. 28: पूर्वेण चूडा मणिनगरश्रीनौयगयोर्म्मध्ये जोला ।

There are two possible explanations: 'Between Cudamaninagara and Srinauyoga', or between the nauyogas (places for parking boats) of Cudamani and Nagarasri -- Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 344, f.n. 4. The second explanation is more plausible. If we take the first explanation then it may mean 'at the town of Cudamani', the epithet sri is then ill construed with nauyoga. Moreover we know from line 29 of the inscription nauyoga as an epithet for Pradamara. So nauyoga is the epithet here and Cudamani and Nagarasri are two place-names here.

2. M.W., p. 401, col. I

3. No. 53, L. 29:

explain. It seems to be the Sanskrtised form of the Prakrt Padamara, i.e. a place where clothes or tents are found in abundance or it may signify 'a harbour of "pala-boats.'[1]

Place-names ending in Kataka:

Kataka:

It is formed from the root kat to surround, to encompass, to cover and means a 'royal camp.'[2]

There is only one such place-name with the suffix 'Kataka' which is as follows:

.... kataka (No. 29, L. 12):

The first part is not clearly legible. Sircar takes it to be bhratri[3] but it does not seem to be correct as it yields no sense with the word Kataka. The donated land is mentioned to have been given to the Chandoga (Samavedin) brahmana Varaha-svamin, an inhabitant of this Kataka.[4]

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1. पाइअ असद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. 514-15
पड (पट) वस्त्र, कपडा,
पडमा (पटवत्) पट वाला, वस्त्र वाला।

Pala-boat : It denotes the boats which are covered with cloth to control the fast wind and thus this covered cloth acts as its protector (pala) against the wind.

2. M.W., p. 243, col. 2-3

3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 289, L. 12

4. Ibid : ग्रा (?)वटक-वास्तव्य-छन्दोग-ब्राह्मण-वराहस्वामिनो कां (त्तृ) (।).

Place-names ending in Vasaka

Vasaka

It means an abode or inhabitation.[1] An inhabitation can be big or small. In refering to a big inhabitation it denotes a city.

Following are the names with this suffix:

(1) Anandapuravasaka (No. 41, L. 1):[2]

It has been mentioned as a camp of victory. Anandapura literally means 'a city of pleasure'. It has not been identified so far.

(2) Ayodhya (No. 21, L. 1: No. 38, L.6: No. 40, L.10):

In No. 21 the word 'Ayodhya-Vasaka' occurs[3] while in No. 38 and 40, the word Ayodhyaka has been mentioned. In No. 21, Ayodhya is described as a victorious camp, full of great ships, and elephants and horses. In No. 40 certain brahmanas belonging to Ayodhya, living in the vicinity of

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1. From √वस् to live. M.W., p. 947, col. 3 Ibid., Cf. वासा a sleeping room or a bed-chamber, modern वासा for Hotel and restaurant, usually used by Marwaris.

2. No. 41, L. 1: जयस्कन्धावारात्आनन्दपुरवासकात् ...।

3. C.I.I. III. p. 257. Fleet translates 'situated at Ayodhya' which is wrong. Vasaka is a 'place-name termination here. Cf. No. 5, L. 6 (Iswaravasaka), No. 41, L. I 'Ananda-puravasaka'.

Mahadeva Sailesvara are named and are mentioned as belonging to various gotras and cavanas, and as proficient in observants, in sacred duty, in the mantras, the sutras, bhasyas and pravacanas.[1]

It has been venerated as one of the most important and holy places of the Hindus.[2] Vinita was another name for this city.[3] Its other names including Vinia (Vinita) are mentioned in the Vividhatirthakalpa.[4] Fa-Hsien calls it Sha-che and Ptolemy knew it as Sogeda.[5] Ayodhya and Saketa have been treated by many writers as being identical. Csoma de körös[6] calls this place as "Saketan or Ayodhya" and H.H. Wilson in his dictionary, refers to Saketa as 'the city of

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1. No. 40 L. 10-11: आयोध्यक - नानागोत्रचरणतपः स्वाध्याय-मन्त्र-सूत्र-भाष्य-प्रवचन-पारग.....।

2. काशीखण्ड 23.7:

का च्यवन्ती द्वारवती काश्ययोध्या च पञ्चमी ।
मायापुरी च मथुरा पुर्यः सप्त विमुक्तिदाः ॥

3. Adipurana, XII, 78:

विनीतजनाकीर्णा विनीतेति च सा मता ।

4. P. 24 अठज्झा अवज्झा कोसला विणीआ, साकेयं
इक्खागुभूमी रामपुरी कोसल त्ति ।

5. Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 67

6. Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 442

Ayodhya'. Several passages in the Raghuvamsa[1] confirm it. The Vividhatirthakalpa mentions Sakeyam (Saketa) as a synonym for Ayodhya,[2] but in the Buddhist literature we find separate references to Ayodhya and Saketa which creates doubt about their identity and suggests that the two existed separately.[3] V. Pathak quotes a well known verse occurring in the Yuga Purana, a section of Gargi Samhita,[4] to show that Saketa is the same as Ayodhya. But there is nothing in the passage to support the view.

The ancient city of Ayodhya or Saketa is described in the Ramayana as situated on the banks of the Sarayu or Sarju river.[5] During the Buddhist period, Ayodhya was divided into

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1. Sarga, XIII, V. 79: XIV, V. 13

2. Loc. cit., p. 24: Hemakosa quoted by N.L. Dey in his Geographical dictionary of ancient and Medieval India, p. 174

3. Pathaka, V., History of Kosala, p. 55

4. Narain, A.K., The Indo-Greeks, Appendix, IV, p.175, J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 402

   ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य प चाला मायुरास्तथा ।
   यवनाश्च सुविक्रान्ताः प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजम् ॥

   The other reading quoted by Dr. V. Pathak is:

   ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पा चालान् मथुरांस्तथा ।
   यवना दुष्टविक्रान्ता प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजम् ॥

   Pathak refers to the verse as appearing in the Brihat-samhita, which is obviously a mistake.

5. Cunningham, The ancient geography of India, p. 405

Uttara (Northern) Kosala and Daksina (Southern) Kosala. The river Sarayu was the dividing line between the two provinces. Ayodhya was the capital of the latter.[1] Ancient tradition believes it to have been built by Manu.[2]

The history of Kosala, with its mighty king Prasenajit and his son Vidudabha pales into insignificance with the emergence of the Magadhan rulers as powerful antagonists. The Nandas, followed by the Mauryas, assimilated Kosala in their empire. Under the Sungas, it was being ruled by a viceroy. An inscriptions from Ayodhya mentions Pusyamitra as having performed two horse-sacrifices. Under the Kusanas, the city remained more or less in oblivion. Subsequently in the Puranas it figures along with Prayaga and Magadha as forming part of the kingdom of the Guptas. The spurious Gaya Plate of Samudragupta (No. 21) mentions it as a seat of a Gupta camp of victory. The history of the city in the post Gupta period is wrapped up in obscurity. It was within the empire of the Pratiharas and Gahadavatas of Kanauj. Ayodhya is described by Muslim historians[3] to have been a wilderness.

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1. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 14

2. Ramayana, I. 5.6

   अयोध्या नाम तत्रास्ति नगरी लोकविश्रुता।
   मनुना मानवेन्द्रेण पुरैव निर्मिता स्वयम् ॥

   Pathak, V.N., History of Kosala, p. 50

3. Puri, B.N., Cities of Ancient India, pp. 12-13

The Slaves and Khilji rulers held sway over it, and subsequently it received importance as the headquarters of Oudh. It was under the charge of Muslim governors appointed from Delhi, but with the emergence of Jaunpur as a strong kingdom Ayodhya was completely over-shadowed. It was a mint-town in the time of Akbar, but there is no reference to it in later Chronicles.[1]

Ayodhya is important as a centre of pilgrimage. There are several places in the city connected with different events in the life of Rama. Rama was born at a place called Janmasthana. At Chirodaka also called Chirasagara, Dasaratha performed,with the help of Rsyasunga Rsi, the sacrifice for obtaining a son. At a place called Treta-ka-Thakur, Ramacandra performed the horse sacrifice by setting up the image of Sita. At Ratnamandapa, he held his Council[2], at Swargadwaram in Fyzabad, his body was burnt. At Laksmana-kunda, Laksmana disappeared in the river Sarayu, Dasaratha accidentally killed Sravana, the blind Rsi's son, at Majhaura in the district of Fyzabad.[3] Ayodhya engaged the attention of the Muslim rulers some of whom set up mosques here, of these the mosques of Babar and Aurangzeb are notable. At present this city forms a part of the district of Fyzabad.

1. Puri, B.N. Cities of ancient India, p. 14

2. Muktikopanishad, ch. I

3. Dey, N.L., Geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 14

4. Puri, B.N., loc. cit., pp. 14-15

(3) Isvaravasaka (No. 5, L. 6):[1]

It seems to be a village or an allotment of land granted by Amrakarddava, the son of Undana, and apparently an officer of Candragupta II to the Aryasamgha at the great vihara or Vakanadabota for the purpose of feeding mendicants.[2] The word Isvara here is connected with Vasaka and there is no infix or place-name suffix in between (just as 'pur' in Anandapuravasaka). Hence vasaka here has a double purpose. It is meaningful to Isvara and also denotes the inhabitation. The whole will literally mean 'an inhabitation of God'.

Place-names ending in Vanan

We find some place-names with the suffix denoting forest, for example Vindhyatavi, and Vrndavana. In our inscriptions we come across only three such name, Tumbavana and Vindhyatavi and Mahakantara. The suffixes vana, atavi and kantara are synonyms. These are described below:

Tumbavana (No. 30, L. 6):

It has been identified with Tumain in Guna district, the old Gwalior state, now in Madhya Pradesh. It is also mentioned in the Sanci Stupa inscription.[3] The Brhatsamhita[4] refers to it as situated in the South.

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1. No. 5, L. 6 : ईश्वरवासकं प चमण्डल्यां प्रतिपाद्य ददाति ....।
2. C.I.I. III, p. 31
3. E.I., II, p. 99
4. XIV, V. 15

The name suggests that Tumba, the gourd Lagenaria vulgaris was in abundance at this place.

Mahakantara (No. I, L. 19):

It is one of the southern countries subdued by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Vyaghraraja. Literally Mahakantara means 'a great forest'. It has to be distinguished from Sarvatavi referred to later on in this inscription.[1] According to Krishnaswami Aiyangar,[2] it must have included the Saugar division of C.P. extending northwards to the Ajaigadh State in Bundelkhanda. But G. Ramdas differs from this view on the ground that Mahakantara must be sought in Southern India as it is specifically mentioned as one of the kingdoms of the South conquered by Samudragupta. He suggests that Mahakantara must be the same as Mahavana, a forest region extending northwards into Ganjam Agency and westwards into the tract formerly known as the Chatisgarh states of C.P.[3] This very region has been mentioned by the same name in the Ganj and Nachna inscriptions.[4]

Vindhyatavi (No. 28, L. 25):

The name appears in one of the verses quoted from

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1. No. I, L. 21: Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, part II, p. 35
2. I.A., 1926, p. 229
3. Diskalkar, D.B., loc. cit., p. 35
4. EI, XVII, p. 362: Banerji, R.D., History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 115

ancient Smrtis or Mahabharata asking people to honour land grants. In the present case it is said that a man who violates the grant is born in the Vindhya forest as a serpent and resides in the dry hollow of a tree.[1] Vindhya forest is the belt of forest at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.

Place-names ending in Grama

Grama: It means an inhabited place, village, hamlet.[2] It seems that firstly the word grama denoted the collective inhabitants of a place, community or race. Later on this sense was transferred to an inhabitation and was used in the sense of a village. The earlier usage of this word, which occurs frequently from the Rgveda[3] onwards, appears to have been in the sense of a village. The early Aryan must have dwelt in villages which were scattered over the country, some close together, some far apart, and were connected by roads.[4] In the early Vedic literature village is regularly contrasted with the forest (aranya) in the evening the cattle regularly returned thither from the forest.[5] The villages were probably

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1. No. 28, L. 25, V. 5:

विन्ध्याटवीष्वमम्यस्तु शुष्क-कोटर-वासिनः।
कृष्णाहिनौ (कृष्णाहयो) हि जायन्ते देयदायं हरन्ति ये॥

2. M.W. p. 373, col. I

3. i,44, 10: 114, 1: ii.12.7: x.146, 1: 149,4 etc.
Av. iv.36, 7-8, V,17,4: VI, 40,2 etc.
Vajasaneyi Samhita, iii, 45: xx.17 etc.

4. Chandogya Upanisad, VIII, 6,2

5. Mac. and Kieth, Vedic Index, p. 244 (Vol. I)

open, though perhaps a fort (pur) might on occasion be built inside.[1] Presumably they consisted of detached houses with enclosures, but no details are to be found in Vedic literature. Large villages (mahagramah) were known.[2] The grama may, however, perhaps be regarded more correctly as an aggregate of several families, not necessarily forming a clan, but only part of a clan (vis), as is often the case at the present day.[3] The head of the village was called Grama-ni or 'the leader of the village'. The king's share in a village is referred to as early as the Atharvaveda.[4]

Villages played an important role as a unit of Rastra or city.[5] Kheta was the half of a city and the village was the half of a kheta.[6] Cities other than the capital are called Karvata, a little less in Nigama and lesser is grama and still lesser is a house.[7]

Grama is changed into gaon,[8] as Suvarnagrama, Sonargaon: Kalahagrama, Kahalgaon.

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1. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 144
2. Jaiminiya Upanisad Brahmana, iii, 13,4
3. Macdonnel and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 245. Cf. Baden Powell, Village Communities in India, 85
4. iv,2,22
5. Samaranganasutradhara ed. T.G. Shastri, 10/83-87
6. ibid., 10/79
7. ibid., 18/2-4
8. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, Preface, p. 2

Following are the place-names with this suffix. We have also included here some place-names which are villages though they not been termed as such with this suffix.

1. Bhadrapuskarakagrama (No. 41, L.5):

Bhadra means 'good or auspicious and Puskara (modern Pokhara) means 'a pond or lake'. So literally the name would mean 'a village possessing an auspicious or good pond'. It has not so far been identified.[1]

2. Bharadidasamada (No. 40, L. 11):

It is the name of a village. The name of the place where the linga containing the inscription was found is said to be Bharadhi Dih.[2] Bharadi of our inscription may also be compared with 'bharadiya' of the Sanci stupa inscription.[3] Samada is possibly Samudra, an epithet for Siva. D.C. Sircar takes 'Samudra' to be the 'nam-aika-desa of a deity called Samudesvara and suggests that the relevant passage is to be corrected as 'parago bharadida-samudresvara'.[4] The meaning of the passage is difficult to explain.

3. Chandagrama (No. 33, L. 3):

The village is difficult to identify.[5] Canda is the

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1. Pandey, M.S., The historical geography and topography of Bihar, p. 161

2. E.I., XV, p. 71

3. E.I., II, p. 105, No. 74

4. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), pp. 290-291 f.n. 4: Konow thinks that there is reference to the village Bharadi.

5. Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of

Prakritised form of Candra[1] which means 'the moon'. Thus the village seems to have been named after the Moon God. But Canda may also mean ferocious or turbulent and in that case it may have been so named because of its wild looks or its violent population.

4. Citravatangara[2] (No. 44, L. 24):

It is the name of a village. Citra means 'excellent or distinguished[3] and vatangara (from vatankara) means 'producing wind'. Thus the whole will literally mean 'which produces excellent wind or air'. The village might have been noted for its healthy and open atmosphere.

5. Donga-grama (No. 34, L. 11: No. 37, L.6):

In No. 34 we get a reference to 'Donga', but in No. 37, the name appears as Donga-grama.

The Donga-grama is said to have been situated in Himavac-Chikhara[4] identified with Barahachatra (Varahaksetra) in

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Bengal, p. 108

1. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवे, पृ. 312
2. The reading is checked by me
3. M.W., p. 396, col. 1
4. It has been variously explained by scholars:
   i) Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 337, f.n. 3 "The peak of the Himalayas"
   ii) Basak, C.G.: JI. XV, p. 140 "The summit of the Himalaya"
   iii) Sen, B.C., loc.cit., p. 108: "the top of a snowy mountain"
   The explanation of Sircar is more explicit.

Nepal.[1] But scholars[2] are not right in co-relating Donga-grama with Himavac-Chikhara. Ins No. 37 clarifies it. There is a long gap between the references to Himavac-Chikhara and Donga-grama. Actually Himavac-Chikhara is associated with Kokamukhasvamin (a form of the Boar incarnation of Visnu) and Svetavarahasvamin where originally (adya) these gods were installed in a temple. The name Donga-grama is used for the place where the lands were donated by Abhupala for the construction of the two temples having the names of the two deities.[3] The word 'adya' in L. 7 is significant and distinguishes the temples at Himavac-Chikhara from those at Donga-grama. The writer had to use the word 'Himavac-Chikhara' again in L. 10, with the names of Kokamukhasvamin and Svetavarahasvamin in order to avoid confusion between the temples at the two places. For the temple at Donga-grama the writer uses the word 'iha' in L. 11. We also find the

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965) p. 337, f.n.3
   Studies in the geography of ancient and mediaeval India, pp. 217-23
2. Referred in f.n. of p.
3. No. 37, LL. 5-8: अनेन भैट्ठारिभुपालेन विज्ञापितं हिमवच्छिखरे कोकामुखस्वामिनः चत्वारः कुल्यवापाः श्वेतवराहस्वामिनोऽपि सप्त कुल्यवापाः अस्मत्कुलाद्यभिसन्ते पुण्याभिवृद्धये डोङ्गग्रामे(मे) पूर्वं मया आद्यप्र अतिसृष्टकास्तदनन्तरदेश सामीप्य भूमौ तयोरापद्य-कोकामुख-स्वामिश्वेतवराहस्वामिनोर्नामलिङ्गमेकं (नामलिङ्गमेतद्) देवकुल-द्वयमेत-त्कारिष्ठकादय च कार यित्वा मिश्रम्यहंय वास्तुना सह कुल्यवापान्यया-क्रममर्यादया दातुमिति ।

word 'Himavac-Chikhara' absent in another Damodarpur Copper plate inscription of the Gupta Year 224 (= 543 A.D.), where a person named Amrtadeva hailing from Ayodhya donates a land for the repairs and worship etc. at the temple of Lord Svetavarahasvamin obviously because he was refering to the temple at Donga-grama and there was now, no question of any confusion or distinction.[1] Thus Dongagrama does not seem to have any connection with Himavac-Chikhara. This village is to be located somewhere near Damodarpur and belonged to the Kotivarsa visaya as mentioned in the records.[2] But the village was most probably situated in a hilly area which is clear from the word Donga itself.[3] The word 'Atraranye' (local forest where the temple of Svetavarahasvamin was situated) in No. 38 also attests to it.[4] The village may have consisted of a few huts with bushes and trees all around or

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 348: LL. 8-9: i.e. No. 38 in the list

2. Nos. 34 and 37, Sircar also agrees to it.
   Sircar, D.C., Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India, p. 218

3. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. 373, col. 3, col. 2.
   डोंगर = डुंगर (= दे) खेल, पर्वत, गुजराती "डुंगर"
   cf. डोंगरा (for man) in Nepal and Kasmira, डोगरी (language).

4. No. 38, L. 8: Cf. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 348, f.n. 3

the place where the temples were situated was away from habitation.

Thus the earlier suggestion that the Kotivarsa district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal[1], which was rejected by Sircar[2], seems to be correct.

(6) Gosatapunjaka (No. 28, L. 2, L. 8, L. 15):

In line 2 of the inscription the reading is Gosatapunjaka while in lines 8 and 15 the reading is Gosatapunja.

Gosata may be the same as gosala or a cow-stall[3] and punja means a multitude.[4] So the village may have consisted of a multitude of cow-stalls and thus resembled the villages known as gohalis.

(7) Gulmagandhika (No. 44, LL. 1-2, L. 22):

It is the name of a village. It occurs once in lines 1-2 and twice in L. 22.[5]

Gulma means 'a cluster of trees'[6] and gandhika means

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1. Majumdar, R.C., History of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 24,400 and note 3

2. Studies in the geography of ancient and mediaeval India, p. 218, Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 337, f.n. 3

3. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. , 300 , देखिये: गोट्ठ (गोष्ठ) = गोवाडा, गौओं के रहने का स्थान।

4. M.W., p. 631, col. 2

5. No. 44, L. 22:
पश्चिमेन गुल्मगन्धिका-ग्राम-सीमानमि (श्चे) ति कुल्यवा (वा)प(ए)को गुल्मगन्धिकायां ....।

2.M.W., p. 360, col. 2

'having the smell of'.[1] The whole will literally mean 'a place which is full of a cluster of trees having the smell.' We may conjecture that the village originally possessed a few shrubs or small trees which produced fragrance.

(8) Gunekagraharagrama (No. 53, LL. 18-19, L. 21):

In lines 18-19 we get the reading 'Gunekagraharagrama while in line 21 the reading is Gunikagraharagrama. The two names are identical and are the same as modern Gunaighar, 18 miles to the north-west of Comilla, Tippera district - Bengal, now in East Pakistan.[2]

Sen considers it to have been a village-name ending with the term agrahara and suggests that from the standpoint of administration this division was more important and better developed than an ordinary grama. The expression gramagrahara[3] or agraharagrama refers to 'a process of unification which some of the more fortunate villages underwent through pressure of administrative and economic necessities.[4]

Agrahara (prakrit aggahara) was a village,[5] or consisted

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1. Ibid., p. 345, col. 3. The word gandhika has been used as the name of a country for gabdika, see also p. 346

2. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 340, p. 344, f.n. 3

3. Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 493. 'Ambila-gramagrahara' is mentioned in the Nandapur grant.

4. Ibid., pp. 493-94

5. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. 17

of fields which were given to Brahmanas[1]. The agraharas enjoyed exemption from several taxes and had other administrative immunities.

(9) Jambudeva (No. 28, L. 2: LL. 7-8: L. 14):

It was the name of a village. It seems that this locality was named after a person named Jambudeva.[2]

(10) Kakubha (No. 15, L. 5):

Inscription No. 15 informs us that five stone images of Adikartris or Tirthamkaras were set up by Madra at the village of Kakubha. The village was sanctified by its association with holy men.[3] It was also known as Kakubhagrama,[4] the suffix grama seems to have been dropped in the present case. Kakubha is identified with modern Kahaum or Kahawan, a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhauli, the chief town of the Salampur-Majhauli Pargana in the Deoria, Deoriya or Dewariya Tahsil or sub-division of the Gorakhpur district in Uttar Pradesh. The grey sandstone column on which the inscription is engraved stands at a short distance on the east of the village.[5]

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1. M.W., p. 6
2. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 360, f.n.1
3. No. 15, L. 5: स्थानैः स्थिम् प्रापरत्ने ककुभ इति जनैः साधु- संसर्ग- पूते ।
4. C.I.I. III, p. 66
5. Ibid., p. 66: A.S.I., Vol. I, p. 91 ff.

(11) Kantedadaka grama (No. 53, L. 7):

It was a village situated in the division called Uttaramandala.[1] The name cannot be explained but the suffix 'dadaka' also appears in the name here and Nadadadakgrama mentioned in line 27 of this inscription.

(12) Nadadadaka grama (No. 53, L. 27):

It was situated in the Northern direction.[2] The name is difficult to explain.

(13) Lavangasika (No. 38, L. 15):

It is the name of a village based on the Lavanga (Clove) tree. Philologically in Lavangasika one 'l' has been dropped: the original and full form should have been 'Lavangalasika' i.e. 'where Lavanga trees play'.

(14) Purnnanaga grama (No. 41, L. 5):

The village belonged to a visaya called Krmila in Nalanda, Patna district, Bihar. Literally Purnnanaga means 'full of serpents' and in this respect the name may be compared

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1. No. 53, LL. 7-8: परिभोगाय विहारे (च) खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्करणाय उत्तरमाण्डलिक-कान्तेउदकग्रामे सर्वतो भोगेनाग्रहारत्वेनैकादश-खिल-पाटकाः पञ्चभिः खण्डैस्ताम्रपट्टेनातिसृष्टाः ।

2. No. 53, L. 27:

उत्तरेण नादउदकग्राम-सीमेति ।

with the name Krmila of the visaya which means 'full of Krmis or worms.

(15) Revatika grama (No. 21, L. 7):

The village was situated in Gaya visaya.[1] Revatika is to be identified with Reworu in the Tikari Police area of the Gaya district.[2] It may have been named after a species of plant (the citron tree or cathartocarpus fistula).[3]

(16) Samgohalikagrama (No. 44, L.2, L. 20):

Samgohalika was the name of a village. In L. 2 we get the form Samgohali, while in L. 20, it is mentioned as Samgohalikagrama[4]. Sircar takes the reading to be 'Gumagandhikagrama' in place of Samgohalikagrama.[5] But Samgohalikagrama is the correct form. We can compare Samgohali in L.2 of this inscription with the letters appearing in L. 20. The first three letters are no doubt not fully legible, but the two remaining are surely 'lika'. Thus the name can never be Gulmagandhika, most probably it was Samgohalika. Moreover the context of both the lines 20 and 2 is the same.

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1. No. 21, L. 7

2. Pandey, M.S., The historical geography and topography of Bihar, p. 130
   Bengal Village Directory, Vol. XXVII, p. 166

3. M.W., p. 887, col. 3

4. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), pp. 352-54 See the transliteration in LL. 2, and 20

5. Ibid., p. 354, L. 20

The word gohali when joined with the suffix 'sam' means 'a good gohali'. In Inscription No. 28 the word gohali has all cases been spelt with long 'i', i.e. gohali.[1]

(17) Satuvanasramaka (No. 38, L. 16):

It is the name of a village. The suffixes vana and asrama are clear but the name cannot be explained due to the word 'Satu' the meaning of which is difficult to explain.

(18) Vatodaka[2] (No. 30, L. 4):

It is the name of a village. Vata is probably a Prakrit for vrtta meaning 'surrounded or covered'[3] and the word udaka means 'water'. So the whole will literally mean 'a place surrounded by water'. It has been mentioned in the inscription as the abode of good people where lived a person, who bore the distinguished appellation Srideva.[4]

Vatodaka has been identified with Badoh which is a small village in the Bhilsa district of the old Gwalior state, now in

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1. Ibid., pp. 360-61. See the transliteration. While in this inscription it is clearly with short 'i'.
   Cf. No. 44, L. 2 संगोहालिषु , No. 28, L. 3
   नित्यगोहालीषु, : L.9, L.15 नित्यगोहालीतो
   L.7 वरगोहालीतो L.12 वरगोहाली
   (Loc. cit., Select Inscriptions, p. 360).
2. Vatodaka = Vata + udaka
3. M.W., p. 914, col. 3
4. No. 30, LL. 4-5:

Madhya Pradesh.[1]

(19) Vayigrama (No. 33, L. 9: No. 45, L. 2):

It has been identified with Baigram in the Bogra (Bagura) district of Bengal, now in Pakistan.[2] In Inscription No. 45 two localities named Trivrta and Srigohali are mentioned as included in Vaigrama.[3]

Vayi is a Prakritised form of vayu meaning air or wind and literally Vayigrama means 'a village full of air'. We also know of a town named as Vayupura.[4]

Place-names ending in Palli

Palli

The suffix - palli, palli, pallaka or its diminutive pallika is derived from pal to go, to move.[5] It means a small village, (esp.) a settlement of wild tribes (e.g. Trisira-palli = Trichinopoly).[6] Palli has been used as meaning

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1. E.I., XXVI, p. 117, f.n. I
   Compare Agodaka (Agrodaka) on coins = Agroha:
   Prthudaka = Pacha

2. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 355: Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India, p. 218: Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, p. 109

3. No. 45, L. 2 वायिग्रामिक - त्रिवृता-श्रीगोहाल्यो.....।

4. M.W., p. 942, col. 3

5. M.W., p. 610, col. 2

6. Ibid., घोष आभीरपल्ली स्यात् - अमरकोष, 2.2.20

a den of thieves in the Uttaradhyanasutra and other Jain Canonical texts,[1] the earliest portions of which are assigned to about 300 B.C.[2]

The Samaranganasutradhara by king Bhojadeva, an eleventh century work, defines Palli thus:

> "Where Pulindas[3] live building their huts with leafs, branches and stones etc. is called Palli and a small Palli is called Pallika."[4]

Its derivation from pal to go, to move, fits in very well as it was an inhabitation of Abhiras, thieves and barbarians who moved from one place to another and were usually in small number.

It seems to be a Dravidian word loaned in Sanskrit. We

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1. Illustrated Ardhamagadhi Dictionary (IA) III/528: Abhidhanrajendra, V. 729, vide Studies in H.C. and E. of Gujarat, p. 53

2. Winternitz, History of India Literature, II, 434

3. barbarians - M.W. p. 638, col. I

4. विधाय कुटिकां यत्र पत्रशाखातृणोपलैः ।
पुलिन्दाः कुर्वते वासं पल्ली स्वल्पा तु पल्लिका ॥ ६ ॥

Samaranganasutradhara, of king Bhojadeva ed. by T. Ganapati Shastri, Vol. I, 1924. 18.6. ed. by D.N. Shukla, p. 99

find in Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada the word palli meaning hamlet, settlement, small village and in Telugu the words Palli and Palliya denoting 'a small village.'[1]

Palli[2] is changed into:

a) bal : Asapalli, Yessabal

b) Poli, as Trisirapalli (= Trishnapalli), Trichinopoli

c) oli, as Ahalyapalli, Ahiroli (also Ahiari).

We have only one place-name ending in this suffix, with a slight variation which is 'palla' and is detailed below:

Erandapalla (No. I, L. 19):

It is mentioned in the list of countries of Southern region conquered by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Damana. Fleet identifies Erandapalla with Erandol in the E. Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency.[3] K.N. Dikshit and Y.R. Gupte agreed with this view.[4] But according to Dubreuil and K.G. Sankar, it is the same as the town Erandapalli near Chicacole on the Coast of Orissa.[5] G. Ramadasa opposes Fleet's identification on the ground that Erandapalli mentioned immediately after the kingdom of Svamidatta cannot be so far

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1. The Sanskrit Language by T. Burrow, "Non-Aryan Influence on Sanskrit", p. 384

2. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, second edition, 1927, Preface, p. I

3. J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 369-70

4. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Part II, p. 33

5. E.I., XII, p. 212

away on the western coast, it must have been in the vicinity of Kalinga and Pistapura kingdom.[1] Erandapalli is mentioned in the SidHhantam plates of Devendravarman of Kalinga.[2] Banerjee counts Damana of Erandapalle among the three chiefs of Kalinga who obstructed the passage of Samudragupta through their country.[3]

G. Ramadasa[4] regards Dubreuil's identification also to be incorrect because Chicacole lies in Kalinga which was clearly the country ruled by Svamidatta. Erandapalli will have, therefore, to be identified with the village Yendipalli in the Golgonda Taluka of the Vizagapatam district or with the village Endapalli in Elore Taluka[5]. But if we suppose that Svamidatta was the king of Kottura alone and not of the whole of Kalinga, Erandapalli may well be identified with Chicacole.[6]

Palla is the corruption of Palli which means an inhabitation and Eranda is the castor-oil-plant.[7] It seems that the region abounded in eranda plants.

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1. I.H.Q.I., p. 682
2. Banerjee, R.D., History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 116
3. Ibid., p. 116
4. I.H.Q.I., p. 682
5. cf. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age, ed. 1967, p.145
6. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Part II, p. 33
7. M.W.P. 232, Col. I, Cf. निरस्तपादपे देशे एरण्डोऽपि द्रुमायते

Eranda seems to be a non-Aryan word.

Place-names ending in Gohali

Gohali

The word gohali is derived from Sanskrit gosala which is transformed into goal in Bengali.[1] It is generally spelt with long 'i' i.e. as gohali,[2] but in No. 44 it has been spelt with short 'i'.[3] This suffix has been used with the names of villages. These villages were known as gohalikas[4], in a similar context the word pradesa is for villages which were not gohalis.[5] These villages were probably full of cowherds. In Assam such villages are known as goalpara.

Following are the place-names with this suffix:

(1) Nitva-gohali:[6] (No. 28, L. 3, L. 9, L. 15)

The meaning of Nitva is inexplicable.

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 360, f.n. 1: M.W. p. 367, col. 1 from Sanskrit gosali = a cow-stall. Another Prakrit form is gosali: see p. 303, col. 3 : it has been used here to denote a country: E.I. XX, p. 60

2. No. 28, LL. 3, 7, 9, 12, 15

3. No. 44, L. 2

4. No. 28, L. 18 उपरि-निर्दिष्ट-ग्राम गोहा[illegible]षेषु .....।

5. No. 44, L.24 एषु यथोपरि निर्दिष्टक-ग्राम-प्रदेशेष्वेषां ..।

6. The reading has been checked by me.

)2) Srigohali (No. 45, L. 2, L. 8, L. 16):

This locality was connected with the village Vayigrama, i.e. the present Baigram.[1] The word 'Srigohali means 'a glorious or beautiful gohali'. Likewise we have a place-name 'Srinagara' in Kashmir which literally means (a glorious or beautiful city).

(3) Vata-gohali (No. 28, L. 2, L. 6, L. 7, L. 12, L. 14):

It was a village situated in the Palasatta Parsva within the Nagiratta mandala in the Daksinamsaka vithi. It has been identified with the village of Goalbhita near Eharpur.[2]

Vata is perhaps the Prakrit form of vrtta meaning 'surrounded, covered'.[3] The village may have been surrounded by a wall or fence. On one hand we find another village named as 'Trivrta',[4] and on the other Vata-nagara appears as the name of a town and Vatodaka as the name of a river.[5]

Place-names ending in Parsvika

Parsvika

It means belonging to the side.[6] This suffix signifies

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1. No. 45, L. 2

   वायिग्रामिक-त्रिवृत (T) - वीगोहाल्योः .... ।

2. Sircar, D.C., loc. cit., p. 360, f.n. I: Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, p.117

3. M.W., p. 914, col. 3

4. No. 45, L. 2

5. M.W., p. 914, col. 3

6. Apte, V.S., Vol. II, p. 1015: पार्श्वे भवः ठक् ।

the geographical situation of the locality with reference to another place.

There is only one name with the suffix, Parsivaka in our inscriptions which is given below:

Palasatta-parsvika (No. 28, L. 2, L. 12):

Palasatta may mean 'an atta[1] or turret of Palasa trees. It is possible that there were many Palasa trees by the side of a hill and they may have formed a turret on the hill. The locality near such a situation may have been described as Palasatta-parsvika.

Place-names ending in Pataka:

Pataka: Literally meaning 'a splittler or divider' it means the half or any part, or a kind of village.[2] Pataka is also the name of a land measure;[3] hence earlier pataka, padaga or pada may have denoted a large but private house, or settlement within a village. Gradually the village and sometimes the city also came to be called after it.[4]

There is only one name with this suffix in our inscriptions which is as follows:

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1. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवे, पृ. 25
2. M.W., p. 614, col. 3: Apte, V.S., Vol. II, p. 1008
3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 342, f.n.4
4. op. cit. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of Gujarat, p. 56

Svacchandapataka (No. 38, L. 15):

Svacchanda in this context may mean uncultivated or wild.[1] So it must be a kind of village with large tracts of barren land.

Place-names ending in Pottaka

Pottaka: Potaka[2] means the site or foundation of a house. It may signify here an inhabitation or locality.

We find only one name with the suffix 'pottaka' in our inscriptions which is given below:

Prsthima-pottaka (No. 28, L. 2, L. 8, L. 14):

It seems to be a name based on the geographical situation of the place. Prsthima literally meaning situated on the backside may here signify 'a neglected place'.

Place-names ending in Vihara

Vihara: Literally vihara means 'a place of recreation or pleasure-ground'. With Buddhists or Jains it means a monastery or temple, originally a hall where the monks met or walked about, afterwards these halls were used as temples. The modern province of Bihar or Behar is so named on account of the large number of Buddhist monasteries,[3] in it.

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1. M.W., p. 1275, col. 2

2. M.W., p. 65, col. 1

3. M.W., p. 1003, col. 3

We have only one name with the suffix 'vihara' in our inscription which is given below:

Lokottaravihara (No. 32, L. 15):

Lokottara vihara was possibly the proper name of some local Buddhist monastery probably named after the Lokottaravadin section of the Hinayana form of Buddhism. The Buddhist institutions alluded to in this inscription were evidently situated at or in the neighbourhood of Mandasor where the inscription was found, although no place is mentioned in the record.[1]

Place-names ending in Ksetra.

Ksetra

Originally meaning an agricultural field, in which sense its use survives, Ksetra came to be used as a place-name suffix as we find in the word Kuruksetra. As a suffix in composition it signified simply a 'field for the word preceding it. For example karma-ksetra, dharma-ksetra, rana-ksetra, siddha-ksetra, suresvari-ksetra.[2]

The use of this word[3] in the Rgveda points clearly to the existence of separate fields[4] carefully measured off,[5] though

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1. E.I., XXVII, p. 13: see No. 32, vs. 18 and 11
2. M.W., p. 332, col. I
3. Mac. & Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 210-11
4. X. 33.6
5. i, 110, 5

in some passages the meaning is less definite, indicating cultivated land generally.[1] In the Atharvaveda[2] and later the sense of a separate field is clearly marked, though the more general use is also found.[3] The deity Ksetrasya Pati,[4] 'Lord of the Field' should probably be understood as the god presiding over each field, just as Vatos pati presides over each dwelling.[5]

Ksetra is changed into:[6]

a) Chatra as Ahiksetra, Ahichatra

b) Cchatra as Ahiksetra, Ahicchatra.

In Prakrit Ksetra changes to khetta meaning 'a land for agriculture', country, village and city etc.[7]

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1. i, 100, 18: ix. 85,4: 91.6: Maitrayani Samhita, ii,2,11. The wider sense of 'place' also occurs V. 2,3: 45,9: VI,47, 20 etc., and often later

2. iv, 18,5: V,31,4: X.1.18: XI,1, 22: Taittiriya Samhita, ii,2,1,2: Chandogya Upanisad, VII, 24,2 etc.

3. AV. ii, 29,3: XIV, 2,7: Satapatha Brahmana i,4,1: 15.16 etc.

4. RV. IV.37,1,2: VII, 35,10: X.66,13: AV. ii,8, 5

5. Macdonell, <u>Vedic Mythology</u>, p. 138

6. Dey, N.L., <u>The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India</u>, Preface, p. 2

7. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. २७९ ।

1963, p. 279. col. 2-3

Analogous to Khetta is the word 'kheda' or 'kheta' which means 'a city surrounded by rivers and mountains.[1] 'Kheta' meaning 'a small hamlet' is also found in Panini (VI.2.126).[2] The Samaranganasutradhara defines 'Kheta' as the half of a city and the grama as the half of a 'kheta'.[3] According to Monier Williams Kheta means a village, residence of peasants and farmers, small town (half of a Pura).[4]

Lele[5] considers Kheta or Khetaka to be the dialectic form of the word 'Ksetra'. The original meaning of Khetaka or Kheta was an enclosure for cattle. In the course of time the pastoral camp grew into an agricultural village, and the word Khetaka came to include agricultural village.[6]

Here we collect the names of fields appearing in the inscriptions of our study. These names can be attributed to the names of individuals or Gods. As the proper names are a part of the name of the fields, we treat them as place-names and do not discuss them in the context of personal-names. Some of the names sound curious and in places the readings are doubtful, the fascimile of the grant supplied by the editor

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1. ibid., col. 2

2. Hindi and Gujarati Khera, Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p. 66

3. ed. by T.G. Shastri, 10/79: for Hindi trans. ed. by D.N. Shukla, p. 108

नगरस्य विभागोऽयं यथावद् समुदीरितः ।
सेटं तदर्धं विष्कम्भमाहुर्ग्रामं तदर्धतः ॥ ७९ ॥

4. M.W., p. 340, col. 2

5. Lele, K.L., Studies in the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of Rajasputana, Poona Univ. Thesis, 1962, p. 84

6. Vide, ibid., see Paul Whelley, J.U.P.H.S., II, 37

being blurred. It is interesting to note that all these names occur in the same inscription, i.e. Gunaighar Grant of Vainyagupta, G.E. 188 (No. 53). Gunaighar formerly Gunikagrahara[1], is a village about 18 miles to the north west of the town of Comilla, a mile and a half to the south west of the P.S. Debidvar in the district of Tippera which is modern Tripur.[2] The area is predominated by Tibeto-Burman tribes. Hence some of the names are full of tribal vocabulary.[3]

1. Buddhaka-ksetra (No. 53, L. 25):

Buddhaka seems to be a prakritised form of Sanskrit Vrddharka meaning 'an old or declining Sun'.[4] The field belongs to a person of this name or else the field was a place of Sun-worship.

2. Kalaka-ksetra (No. 53, L. 25):

It is a prakritised form of Sanskrit Kalarka,[5] i.e. the dreadful Sun at the time of the destruction of the whole world. The field may be connected with Sun-worship. Another alternative is that it was the property of a man

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1. I.H.Q. VI, p. 52
2. Ibid., p. 45
3. Ibid., p. 45 "These words mostly non-Sanskritic in origin, survive in modern dialects through a millenium and a half, with very little change in their form or meaning".
4. M.W., p. 1011, col. I
5. We also find a kind of 'Sun' known as Lolarka

with this name.

3. Khandavidhuggurika-ksetra (No. 53, L. 26):

The name is a little puzzling. Its possible Sanskrit form may be 'khandavidhugrahika-ksetra', i.e. a field belonging to a person who is the owner of house in the shape of half-moon.

4. Jolari-ksetra (No. 53, L. 24):

Jolari seems to be a feminine name. The word Jola is a Dravidian word meaning a water-course or river.[1] Jolari may have been a fisher-woman and the field belonged to her.

5. Mahipala-ksetra (No. 53, L. 25):

This field seems to have belonged to a person named Mahipala literally meaning 'a portector of the country', i.e. a king.

6. Manibhadra-ksetra (No. 53, LL. 26-27):

This field belongs to Manibhadra literaally meaning 'the excellent jewel.' Manibhadra has been the name of a brother of Kubera and king of the Yaksas (the tutelary deity of travellers and merchants).[2]

7. Miduvilala-ksetra (No. 53, L. 19):

The field belonged to Miduvilala. The word Midu is

1. Chatterji, S.K., The origin and development of the Bengali language, pp. 65-66
2. M.W., p. 775, col. I

a prakrit form of Sanskrit Mrdu[1] which means soft, delicate or beautiful. Paia-Sadda-Mahannavo[2] takes Vilala, Birala, Bidala, Bilada and Bilala as synonymous words meaning 'a cat'. According to Bhattacharya 'The word vilala is evidently derived from vila with its peculiar meaning (a large watery hollow) current in Bengal.[3] D.C. Sircar takes it to be a mechanic Caste like vardhaki (carpenter).[4] We find the word Vilala occurring thrice in the Gunaighar grant (No. 53) which has been translated by the editor of the grant as follows:

a) Miduvilala-ksetra (L. 19) : The field of Miduvilala

b) Pakkavilala-ksetra (LL. 21-22) : The field of Pakkavilala

c) Ganesvara-Vilala - Puskarini (L. 28): The large marshy pond of Ganesvara.

All the three names have been explained according to their context in this work:

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1. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, p. 690, Col. I, p. 688, col. 3

2. Ibid., p. 799, col. 2: p. 636, col. I: p. 635, col. 3 Cf. M.W., p. 985, col. 2: vilala = a yantra or mechine bilala = a cat:

cf. Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, p. 93: Vilala - Sk., an instrument, a machine: cf. bilala - a cat used as a totem or a combination of bil and al

3. I.H.Q., VI, p. 49

4. Select Inscriptions, p. 335, f.n. 3

In 'a' and 'b' the editor takes a vilala as a part of the names Midu and Pakka but in 'c' he translates vilala as 'a large marshy (place)'. The editor should have taken either Miduvilala and Pakkavilala as the adjectives of the fields like 'c' or Vilala as an adjective of Ganeswara and not that of Puskarini. Vilala seems to be a part of the names Midu and Pakka which if left alone yield no meaning, but in the case of Ganesvara-vilala, the word vilala seems to be an adjective of the name Ganeswara rather than a part of it. Here the word vilala seems to indicate a professional caste. It is a Dravidian word.[1] The whole sense of the name 'Miduvilala' is not clear.

8. Nakhaddarchcharika-ksetra (No. 53, L. 23):

The expression means the field of Nakhaddarccarika. The word Nakhaddarccarika is a puzzle but it can be possibly explained as the worshipper of Naksatras, i.e. an astronomer.[2] Naksatra changes to nakkhatta[3] in Prakrit. Nakha and nakkha are identical,[4] tta in nakkhatta changes to dda in sandhi here. The word 'arccarika' means a 'worshipper'.[5] Stars were regarded as deities to whom regular

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1. T. Burrow, The Sanskrit Language: 'Non-Aryan influence on Sanskrit', p. 384: bidala, birala ('Cat'). Tamil, Malayalam : veruku, Kannada : berku

2. Cf. Vaidya-ksetra, infra, p.

3. प्राकृतशब्दमहार्णवे, p. 378, col. 3

4. Ibid. see णक्ख पुजायाम् (नख)

5. from √अर्च् पूजायाम्

worship (bhakti) was shown. The names based on stars were unknown in Vedic literature but became popular in the time of Panini and later.[1]

9. Nagi-jodaka-ksetra (No. 53, L. 24):

The word Nagi seems to be a feminine name of the Naga tribe meaning simply 'a naga woman'. The word Jodaka means a Yugma (two).[2] So the whole will literally mean 'the field of two Nagis'.[3]

10. Pakkavilala-ksetra (No. 53, LL. 21-22):

The expression means field of Pakkavilala. The word Pakka[4] means a barbarous tribe, a candala. Vilala has already been explained.[5]

11. Raja-vihara-ksetra (No. 53, L. 22):

The field belonging to the royal vihara or monastery. Literally Vihara means "a place of recreation, pleasure-ground. With Buddhists or Jainas it means a monastery or temple, originally a hall where the monks met or walked about, afterwards these halls were used as temples. The province of Bihar or Behar is also so named because of

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1. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p. 190

2. Chatterji, S.K., The origin and development of Bengali language, Part I, p. 65. Yugma-setu for Jora-Sako.

3. Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 94

4. Apte, V.S., Vol. II, pp. 944-45. Cf. पक्कण: पक्कण:

5. Supra, p.

the number of Buddhist monastries in it."[1]

12. Surinasirampurnneka-ksetra (No. 53, L. 19):

The field of surinasirampurnneka or the Surinasirampurnneka field. The name is inexplicable.

13. Suryya-ksetra (No. 53, L. 25):

The field of Suryya. The field may belong to a person named Suryya or it may be a place of Sun-worship.

14. Visnuvardhaki-ksetra (No. 53, L. 19):

The field of Visnuvardhaki. Visnu is the first part of the name based on god Visnu. The second part of his name seems to be dropped and instead his professional epithet 'Vardhaki' has been added which means 'a carpenter'.[2] In Sanchi Stupa Inscriptions we get the word 'vadakina' which is the same as Sanskrit 'vardhakin' and means 'Carpenter'.[3] In the Anga-vijja,[4] we get the word 'Vattaki' which denotes a metal worker.

15. Vaidya-ksetra (No. 53, L. 22):

The field of Vaidya, i.e. a physician.

16. Yajnarata-ksetra (No. 53, L. 27):

The field of Yajnarata. Yajna means sacrifice or

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1. M.W., 1003, col. 3: Monier Williams, Buddhism, pp. 68, 81

2. Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, p. 93: Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, ed. 1965, p. 343, note 8

3. E.I. II, p. 389, No. 311: also see p. 369

4. Introduction, p. 47
अंग विज्जा,

worship and rata means 'given, presented, bestowed.'[1] The whole will literally mean 'given by Yajna'. The field may be a place or worship of sacrifice. Because of the performance of Yajna on a certain occasion the field came to be so named as if it was a permanent place of sacrifice or the field might have been named after a person 'Yajnarata'.

Place-names ending in Puskarini

Puskara means a blue lotus so Puskarini denotes a lotus pool. It also means a lake or pool in general.[2] The names of some localities associated with pokharas or tanks have survived to modern times.

Following are the place-names with this suffix:

1. Danda-Puskini (No. 53, L. 31):

Though the reading is Dandapuskini it is to be corrected as Danda-puskarini.[3] Danda meaning punishment or rod here seems to have been a personal name and the puskarini was named after him or else it may have been in his possession.

2. Dosi-bhoga-puskarini (No. 53, L. 20):

Dosi may stand for Sanskrit jyotisi meaning

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1. M.W., p. 871, col. 3

2. Apte, V.S., Col. II, p. 1036

3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 345, f.n. 2: I.H.Q. VI, p. 56, f.n. 1

astrologer.[1] Bhoga may be a personal name, thus the name may stand for a pond of the astrologer named Bhoga. Another possibility is that bhoga signifies enjoyment. In that case the expression will signify a pond in the possession of an astrologer.[2]

3. Ganesvara-vilala-puskarini (No. 53, L. 28):

Ganesvara was the name of the person to whom the puskarini belonged. Vilala is a professional epithet which denotes a mechanic caste[3] or it may have been the nick-name of the person.[4]

ONE WORD PLACE-NAMES

Following are the place-names which have got no suffix with them.

1. Avamukta (No. I, L. 19):

The Inscription No. 1 refers to Avamukta as one of the countries in Daksinapath subdued by Samudragupta. Its ruler

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1. Ibid., p. 344, f.n. I

Cf. 482

2. Loc. cit., Sircar, D.C., p. 344, f.N. I

3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 345, f.n.I

4. Cf. see Pakka-vilala in the place-names ending in ksetra.

was Nilaraja.[1] Avamukta has not been identified with certainy. Some scholars on the basis of the similarity of name identify it with Avimukta another name of Kasi.[2] But the suggestion cannot be accepted. Avamukta of the inscription was a country in the South while Avimukta or Kasi is an eastern country. It may be considered to be situated in the Godavari district.[3] According to D.B. Diskalkar it must lay on the Eastern Ghats which lie to the west of Kanci or Conjeevaram.[4]

2. Davaka (No. I, L. 22):

It has been mentioned as one of the frontier states subdued by Samundragupta. According to Fleet it was the ancient name of Dacca.[5] V.A. Smith takes it as corresponding to Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts.[6] But as these districts were not actually incorporated with the Gupta dominions, D.B. Bhandarkar suggests that Davaka corresponds to the hill-tract of Chittagong and Tippera.[7] K.L. Barua identifies

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1. No. I, L. 20

2. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, p. 626

3. Ray Chaudhuri, H.C., Political history of ancient India, 4th ed., p. 453, also see note 5.

4. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Part II, p. 33, see in Kanchi

5. Diskalkar, D.B., loc. cit., p. 39

6. ibid., p. 39

7. Ibid., p. 39: I.H.Q.I., p. 257

it Kopili valley in Assam.[1] Generally Davaka is identified with modern Daboka in Nowgong district, Assam.[2] It thus corresponds to the valley of the Kapili and the Yamuna rivers in Naogong district where we still find a place called Doboka.[3]

3. Kamarupa (No. I, L. 22):

It has been mentioned as one of the frontier states which were subordinate to Samudragupta and whose emperors paid him taxes and all kinds of obeisance. Majumdar[4] identifies it with Upper Assam. Kamarupa consisted of the Western districts of the Brahmaputta valley which being the most powerful state and being the first to be approached from the western side came to denote the whole valley.[5] The area of Kamarupa was estimated by the Chinese traveller Hsuan Tsang to have been 10,000 li i.e. 1667 miles in circuit which shows that it must have comprised of the whole valley of Brahmaputra.[6] Saktisangama describes[7] Kamarupa as extending from Kalesvara to the Svetagiri

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1. Barua, K.L., Early history of Kamarupa, p. 42: Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 216

2. Law, B.C., loc. cit., p. 216

3. Majumdar, R.C. and Altekar, A.S., The Vakataka-Gupta Age ed. 1967, p. 142: see the f.n. 1: Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, ed. 1965 pp. 265-66, f.n. 4

4. The Vakataka-Gupta Age, ed.1967 p. 142

5. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 500

6. Ibid.

7. Sircar, D.C., loc. cit., pp. 86-87: Saktisangama Tantra, Book III, ch. VII, v. 10

and from Tripura to the Nila-parvata (which is the Nil-adri or Nilakuta, the name of the Kamakhya hill). According to the Yogini Tantra, the kingdom of Kamarupa included the whole of the Brahmaputra valley together with Rangpur and Cochbihar.[1] The Puranas mention Pragjyotisa, identified with Kamakhya or Gauhati, as the capital of Kamarupa.[2] The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva mentions Kamarupa as a Mandala of the Pragjyotisa-bhukti.[3]

The Abhudana, the Vaijayanti and the Trikandasesa inform us that Pragjyotisa and Kamarupa were the same country.[4] In the Raghuvamsa,[5] the separate mention of Pragjyotisa and Kamarupa may seem to be a little puzzling. But we see that whereas verses 81-82 of the fourth canto refer to the king of Pragjyotisa as terrified, the subsequent verses describe the presentation of elephants and the offer of respects by the king of Kamarupa to Raghu. Thus all the four verses are interlinked and, the context also proves that Pragjyotisa and Kamarupa were the same.[6] The Buddhist Chronicle Arya-manjusri-mulakalpa

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1. Ibid., p. 87: Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 226

2. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 87: Puri, B.N., Cities of ancient India, pp. 85-88

3. E.I. II, p. 353, LL. 48-49: Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 172

4. Chaudhuri, S.B., loc.cit., p. 172, see also f.n. 3, I.H.Q. XIX, p. 214

5. रघुवंशमहाकाव्यम्, चतुर्थः सर्गः, श्लो. 81-84

6. Upadhyaya, B.S., India in Kalidasa, p. 63

describes Kamarupa as a country of the east.[1] The Brihat-samhita[2] and the Kavyamimamsa[3] also mention it in the same direction. Chatterji remarks that the tribes living on the frontiers of Kamarupa were akin to the Man tribes of South-Western China, a wild Tibeto-Chinese people.[4]

The Ahoms of the Shan Tribe came into Assam at the beginning of the 13th century due to the break-up of the Chinese empire by the Moguls and ruled till the British occupation in the beginning of the 19th century.[5]

4. Kanci (No. I, L. 19):

The earliest epigraphic mention of Kanci is to be found in this inscription. The inscription refers to Visnugopa of Kanci as one of the kings of Daksinapatha defeated by Samudragupta, but reinstated in their kingdoms. Kanci is the same as Kancipura or modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput district of Madras Presidency.[6] The kingdom of Kanci

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1. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 172

2. बृहत्संहिता XIV.6, p. 119

3. काव्यमीमांसा, सप्तदशोऽध्यायः, p. 235

4. Chatterji, S.K., The origin and development of Bengali language, pp. 77-78

5. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 87; Puri, B.N., Cities of ancient India, p. 85

6. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka Gupta Age, ed. 1967, p. 145 Law, B.C. Historical geography of ancient India, p. 161

extended from the mouth of the Krishna to the south of the river Palar and sometimes even to the Kaveri.[1] It is also known as Kancipedu.[2] It is mentioned in several early records relating to the ancient history of the Pallavas of Kanci (of about 250 to 350 A.D.).[3] The Aihole inscription of Pulakesin, the Calukya ruler in the 7th century A.D. refers to his conquest of Kancipura.[4] The earliest literary reference to Kanci is in the Mahabhasya of Patanjali.[5]

The Mahabhasya on Vartika 26 to Pan. IV.2.104 mentions Kancipuraka (i.e. a resident of Kancipura).[6] Hsuen Tsang informs us that Kanci was 30 li or 5 miles in circuit, and that in the city there were eighty Deva temples and many heretics called Nirgranthas.[7]

The Puranas attach great importance to Kanci.[8] It is included in a list of seven holy cities of India.[9] The

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1. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit inscriptions, Vol. I, Part II, p. 33

2. Loc. cit., Law, B.C., p. 161: Puri, B.N., Cities of ancient India, p. 31

3. E.I., Vol. 6, p. 84: E.I., Vol. I, p. 2: E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 24. Cf. Gopalan, R., History of the Pallavas of Kanci (1928)

4. ---- for more details. Puri, B.N., Cities of ancient India, p. 31: Loc. cit., Law, B.C., p. 161: Banerjee, R.D., History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 116

5. Ibid., Puri, B.N., p. 31

6. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 298

7. Beals, Records of Western World, Vol. II, p. 230

8. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, pp. 711-12

9.

Brahmanda Purana[1] associates Kanci with Kasi, the two forming the two eyes of Śiva. It is stated in the Barhaspatya sutra[2] that Kanci is a Sakta-ksetra. In the Devibhagavata[3] Kanci is said to be a sthana of the Devi called Annapura.[4] The Vamana Purana[5] mentions it as the best among the cities. The Skandapurana[6] counts it among the holy places. The Bhagavatapurana[7] and the Yoginitantra[8] also mention it. In Dasakumaracaritam[9] it is referred to as a city of the Dravida country.

अयोध्या माया मथुरा काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैते मोक्षदायकाः ॥

vide, Pathak, V.N., History of Kośala, p. 52 note

1. IV. 19,15
2. III. 124
3. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, p. 712
4. VIII. 38.8
5. XII.50 पुष्पेषु जाती नगरेषु काञ्ची नारीषु रम्याद्यमिवां गृहस्थः ।
6. Ch. I, 19-23
7. X. 79, 14
8. I. 17
9. Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 161

Kanci is full of temples and shrines. Siva Kanci and Visnu Kanci form the western and eastern parts of the city, while the Jain Kanci is known as Tiruparutti-Kunram.[1] Of the temples at Conjeeveram, the most famous are the Kamaksi temple with a Cakra placed in front of the deity, the Vaikuntha Perumal temple of Visnu and the Saiva temple of Kailasanatha.[2]

Apart from its religious significance Kanci has been a famous centre of learning. The Pallava ruler Mahendravarman I, the author of the Mattavilasa-Prahasana, Bharavi, the author of the Kiratarjuniyam and Dandin, the author of the Dasakumara-acaritam are said to have flourished here.[3]

The famous Buddhist dialectician Dinganaga came here to satisfy his intellectual and spiritual thirst and about the middle of the fourth century A.D., the Brahman Mayurasaraman, who founded the Kadamba line came here for getting recognition in Vedic learning.[4] The Adi-guru Sankaracarya established here the famous Pitha known as Kamakotipitha[5]. Literally Kanci means a 'girdle'. It seems to have been so named because it is situated like a girdle round the sea.

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1. Puri, B.N., Cities of ancient India, p. 33
   Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 162
2. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, p. 712; Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 162
3. Puri, B.N., Cities of ancient India, pp. 33-34
4. Tripathi, R.S., History of ancient India, p. 454; Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, 1936, pp. 304-07
5. Puri, B.N., loc. cit., p. 34

5. Kasi (No. 28, L. 6):

It is mentioned in inscription No. 28. According to the inscription a vihara at Vata-gohali was inhabited by the disciplies of the Nigrantha preceptor (Sramanacarya) Guhanandin, belonging to the Panca-stupa section (nikaya) of Kasi.[1] Evidently Vatagohali was a seat of Jain monks who had their major seat at Kasi.

The name Kasi is derived from the root Kas 'to shine'. The Skandapurana[2] says that the city of Kasi became famous by that name because it sheds light on (the way to) nirvana or because, that indescribable refulgence, viz. God Siva shines forth here.[3] B.C. Law connects it with Ti-miao meaning 'read sprouts', a Chinese translation of the word and this links it with a certain kind of grass.[4] It has been known for centuries under five different names, viz., Varanasi (modern Banaras), Kasi, Avimukta, Anandakanana and Smasana or Mahasmasana.[5]

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1. No. 28, L. 6: वटगोहाल्यामवास्यां काशिक- प ञ्चस्तूपनिकायिक- निग्रन्थश्रमणाचार्य-गुहनन्दि- शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-विहारे. ... ।

2. Kasikhanda, 26.67: 30.5

3. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, pp. 624-25

4. Law, B.C., Tribes in ancient India, p. 102

5. Loc. cit., Kane, pp. 624-25

The earliest mention of the Kasis as a tribal people occurs in the Paipplada recension of the Atharvaveda.[1] Varanasi was the capital of the people of Kasi.[2] Thus it seems that geographically Kasi represented a larger area than Varanasi, the latter being the capital of the former. But in mediaeval times the position became just the reverse. Varanasi comprehended the entire district and Kasi generally represented only a small place. In a grant of Maharaja Vinayakapala we get a reference to a village of Tikkarika situated in the Pratisthana-bhukti, and attached to Kasi-para-Pathaka which belonged to Varanasi visaya.[3] Kasi para-pathaka represented the site of the ancient city of the Kasi.[4] The Vividhatirthakalpa[5] also mentions Kasi as a janapada in the Varanasi City.

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1. Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 46: Macdonnel and Keith, Vedic Index, Part I, p. 153, f.n. I

2. Ibid., Law, B.C., p. 46. Banarasi or Varanasi was named so as it confined the area between Varana and Asi rivers: Chaudhury, S.B.: Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p.60: Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 95

3. I.A., Vol. XV, p. 138-141, LL. 9-10:
प्रतिष्ठान-भुक्तौ वाराणसी-विषय-सम्बद्ध-काशी-पार-पथके-
प्रतिबद्ध-तिक्करिका ग्राम.....।

4. Chaudhury, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p.61

5. Pt. I, p. 72: अस्त्यत्रैव दक्षिणे भारतार्धे मध्यखण्डे काशिजनपदालङ्कृतिस्तरवाहिन्या त्रिदशवाहिन्याः लङ्कृतधनकनकरत्नसमृद्धा वाराणसी नाम नगरी गरीयसामद्भुतानां निधानम्।

The ancient kingdom of Kasi was bounded by Kosala on the north, Magadha on the east, and Vatsa on the west. The Cedis and Karusas lived to their south.[1] At the time of the Buddha, the kingdom of Kasi was absorbed by the kingdom of Kosala.[2]

We know that Lord Buddha gave his first discourse near Kasi in the Deer Park at Sarnath. Kashi was an important Buddhist centre and was a seat of monastic establishments in the time of Asoka.[3] During the period of Gupta rule it was on its way to become a strong centre of Siva worship with the mahalingas set up in different parts of the city.[4] The Puranas include the region in the Gupta empire[5].

It was a great centre of trade and commerce. Patanjali in his Mahabhasya[6] mentions Kasi cloth. The Buddhist literature gives us many accounts of the merchants of the city.[7]

Kasi has been a place of much importance for Hindu pilgrimage. Its religious importance has been discussed at length

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1. Chaudhury, S.B.: Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 60
2. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 95
3. Puri, B.N., Cities of ancient India, pp. 38-39
4. Ibid., p. 39
5. Ibid., p. 39
6. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 413
7. Loc. cit., Law, B.C., p. 47

in the Kasikhanda of the Skanda Purana. Lord Siva never leaves it, hence it is known as Avimukta. A man who dies here is believed to get emancipation.[1]

6. Kosala (No. I, L. 19):

It is spelt both ways with the dental as well as with the palatal sibilant. It is included in the list of the Daksinapatha kingdoms whose kings were conquered but reinstated by Samudragupta. At that time Mahendra was its ruler. It has been identified with South Kosala corresponding to modern district of Raipur, Sambalpur and Bilaspur of M.P. and Orissa.[2] Its old capital was Sripura (modern Sirpur), 40 miles N.E. of Raipur.[3] It is the same as Maha-kosala[4] which forms the largest unit among the three component parts of the state of Madhya Pradesh.[5] The recent excavation at Eran has thrown a flood of new light on the early history of eastern Malwa and Mahakosala between the period 1900 B.C. and 600 A.D. During

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1. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, pp. 624 ff.

2. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, ed. 1965, p. 265, f.n. 1: Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, pp. 64-66: E.I. III, pp. 351-54: Loc. cit., Sircar, D.C., p. 34: E.I. XI, p. 184

3. Loc. cit., Sircar, D.C., p. 265, f.N. 1: Chaudhuri, S.B., p. 64

4. Banerji, R.D., History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 115: Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, pp. 103, 117

5. Bajpai, K.D., 'The Cultural Heritage of Mahakosala' vide 'Cultural Forum' No. 28, July 1965. (Ministry of Education, Government of India), p. 37

the Gupta period several Brahmanical temples were built in this region. In the early medieval period i.e. from 600 to 1200 A.D., the Candellas and Kalacuris were the two chief ruling dynasties in the Mahakolasa area. In the period of Muslim rule followed by Maratha supremacy in many forts and fortresses were built by the ruling chiefs,[1] in different parts of Mahakoŝala. Daksina Kosala is mentioned in the Ratnavali (Act IV) as having been conquered by Udayana, king of Vatsa.[2]

N.L. Dey[3] identifies Daksina Kosala with Tosali of Asoka's inscription (Tosala) at Dhauli, which is situated near Bhuvaneswar in the Puri district, Orissa. Sylvain Levi suggests an Austric origin for this word. 'Kosala changing to Tosala is an apparent variation of the initial due to the formative prefix'[4] in the Austeric languages. The country of Tosala also, like Kosala, had two divisions: Uttara Tosala and Daksina Tosala.[5] Daksina Tosala consisted of a mandala of the name of Kongoda. In some cases by mistake the reading Daksina-kosala is given in place of Daksinatosala.[6] But it is clear

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1. Ibid., p. 39

2. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 104

3. Ibid., p. 104

4. Woolner, A.C., 'Prakrit and Non-Aryan Strata in the Vocabulary of Sanskrit', vide Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, Patna, 1926-28, p. 70

5. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 72

6. Ibid., p. 72: also see the f.n. 6: E.I., VI, p. 141, L.21

from other evidence that Tosala and Kosala were two separate entities. The puranas mention them separately.[1] The Kavya-mimamsa also makes a separate reference to the two.[2]

7. Kottura (No. I, L. 19):

It is mentioned as one of the Southern kingdoms conquered by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Svamidatta. It has been identified by N. Dubreuil with Kothoor in Ganjam.[3] Banerjee counts Svamidatta of Kottura, among the three chiefs of Kalinga who obstructed the passage of Samudragupta through their country.[4]

According to Fleet Kottur (from Kottapura) being a very common Dravidian name, may be looked for in any Kottura of note, in a mountainous part of Southern India, e.g. possibly Kottur in the Coimbatore district, at the foot of one of the passes in the Anaimalai Hills.[5] R. Sathianathaier proposes to identify Kottura with Kottura near Tuni (E. Godavari district) and maintains that Samudragupta did not pass through Orissa, Ganjam and Vizagapatam.[6] There is another Kottura in the

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1. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the geography of ancient and medieaval India, p. 34
   "तशेला: कोशलाश्चैव त्रेपुरा वैदिशास्तथा ।"
2. काव्यमीमांसा, सप्तदशोऽध्याय: p. 235
   यत्राङ्गकलिङ्गकोसलतोसलोत्कल ..... ।
3. Banerjee, R.D., History of Orissa, Vol. I, pp. 115-6
   Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 167
4. Banerjee, R.D., History of Orissa, Vol. I, pp. 115-6
5. C.I.I. III, p. 8
6. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age, ed. 1967, p.146 f.n. I

Vizagapatam district.[1] But the generally accepted view is to identify it with Kothoor in Ganjam.

8. Kurala (No. I, L. 19):

It has been mentioned as one of the kingdoms of Daksinapatha subdued by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Mantaraja. Fleet suggests that Kauralaka is a mistake for Kairalaka, denoting the well known province Kerala in the South of India.[2] D.R. Bhandarkar[3] identifies this Kerala with the Sonpur territory in C.P. round about Yayatinagara where the author of the Pavanaduta locates the Keralas. Barnett identified it with modern village Korada in South India.[4] Kurala is taken by Kielhorn[5] to be the same as Kunala mentioned in the Aihole inscriptions of Pulakesin II[6] and identified with the Kolleru lake between the Godavari and the Krishna.[7] But D.R.Bhandarkar[8]

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1. Vizagapatam District Gazetteer, I, 137: Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 167

2. C.I.I. III, p. 7, f.n. I. The reading has been checked by me and is found to be 'Kauralaka'

3. I.H.Q.I., p. 252

4. Calcutta Review, Feb. 1924, p. 253 note: Cf. Raychaudhuri, H.C., Political history of ancient India (4th ed.), pp. 452-53

5. E.I., VI, p. 3, f.n. 3: Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, part II, p. 35

6. Diskalkar, D.B., ibid., p. 130, v. 28

7. Cf. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, ed. 196 , p. 265, f.n. I

8. Loc. cit., Diskalkar, D.B., p. 35

objects to this view on the ground that the Kolleru lake must have been included in the kingdom of Vengi mentioned later on[1] in the same list in the inscription. G.Ramdas[2] seems to be right when he observes that Kurala must be the plain country of the Ganjam district to the north-east of the Mahendra hill now chiefly occupied by the Oriyas.

9. Nepala (No. I, L. 22):

It is mentioned as one of the border states which accepted the subordination of Samudragupta. Some take it to refer to Tippera[3] which is doubtful.[4] The city is said to have been founded by Ne rsi who performed his religious services at the junction of the Bagmati and Kesavati and who also ruled over the country.[5] The Nepala valley originally contained a lake called Naga Basa or Kalihrada, in which lived Naga Karkotaka. It was fourteen miles in length and four miles in breadth.[6]

The former name of Nepala was Slesmatakavana.[7] The famous temple of Pasupatinatha on the western bank of the Bagmati river, is situated about three miles northwest of Kathmandu in the town of Devipatan said to have been founded

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1. No. I, L. 20
2. I.H.Q., Vol. I, p. 685
3. J.A.S.B., 1837, p. 973
4. Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 113
5. Wright, Daniel, History of Nepal, p. 89: Regmi, D.R., Ancient and medieval Nepal, pp. 4-5, 11-12
6. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and India, p. 140 7. Loc. cit., B.C. Law, p. 113

by Asoka's daughter Carumati.[1] The Saktisangama Tantra describes the country of Nepala as placed between Jatesvara and Yogini.[2] Sircar equates Yoginipura with Delhi and Jatesvara with Jalpesvara, the famous Sita of the Jalpaiguri district in North Bengal.[3]

Nepala was a buffer state in the 7th century A.D. In the 8th century A.D. she shook of its domination by Tibet.[4] According to the Deopara inscription, Nanyadeva, the ruler of Nepala, is said to have been defeated and imprisoned with many other princes by Vijayasena, about the middle of the 12th century A.D.[5]

10. Palakka (No. I, L. 20):

It has been mentioned as one of the kingdoms of Southern India whose kings were first conquered and then released by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Urgrasena. Palakka has been identified with Palakkada, the capital of a Pallava viceroyalty and was situated in the Nellore district.[6] Law is

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1. Ibid., pp. 113-14

2. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India, p. 77

3. Book III, ch. VII.v.36:
"जटेश्वरं समारभ्य यावोक्यन्तं महेश्वरि। नेपालदेशे देवेशि ...।"

4. Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 113

5. E.I., I, p. 309

6. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age, p. 145: Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, p. 265, f.n. 1: I.H.Q., Vol. I, p. 686: Raychaudhuri, H.C., loc. cit., p. 453

inclined to Identify Palakkada with Palakaluru in the Guntur taluka.[1] Allan and G. Ramdas locate it in the Nellore district.[2] Smith places Palakka in the Nellore district.[3] Dubreuil, however, identifies Palakka with a capital of the same name which was situated to the South of the Krishna and which is mentioned in many Pallava Copper Plates.[4] The kingdom of Pallakka might have extended westwards beyond the region now occupied by the districts of Auddepal and North Arcot.[5] It was perhaps situated to the west of Kanci on the Eastern Ghats.[6]

11. Pratyanta (No. I, L. 22):

It is mentioned in Inscription No. 1 that the kings of frontier (or border) states 'Samatata, Davaka, Kamarupa, Nepala and Kartrpura' gratified the imperious commands of Samudragupta, by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance.[7] We

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1. Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 179; Pandey, R.B., Historical and literary inscriptions, p. 74 f.n. 1

2. Smith, V.A., The early history of India (4th ed.), p. 301

3. I.H.Q.I., p. 686

4. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit inscriptions, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 34

5. Ibid., p. 34

6. Ibid., p. 33, See Kanci

7. No. I. L. 22: समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्तृपुरा दि-प्रत्यन्त-नृपतिभि:.....।

also find a reference to Pratyanta in the Girnar Rock Edict No.2 of Asoka.[1]

Law[2] contrasts between Aryavarta and Pratyanta. He takes Pratyanta to mean the Mleccha country and quotes the Amarakosa, Divyavadana, Abhidhanacintamani and Smrticandrika.[3] But in the inscription[4] the contrast is between Daksinapatha and Aryavarta while the word Atavikaraja breaks the link between Aryavarta and Pratyanta. Moreover, all the border states mentioned in the inscription could not have been Mlecchas and inhabited by Kiratas.[5] The word Pratyanta and its substitutes in the Asokan edicts also refer to the frontier states.

12. Samatata (No.L.I, L.22) :

It is one of the frontier kingdoms which offered their submission to Samudragupta.[6] Sen[7] remarks that Samudragupta

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1. LL. 2-3 : एवमपि प्रचंतेषु (प्रत्यन्तेषु) यथा चोडा पाडा सतियुतो केत (र) लुतो आसंबपंणी अन्तियको योनराजा....।

2. I.H.Q., XXV, No.I, pp. 110-2

3. Ibid.

4. No.I, LL.20.

5. I.H.Q., XXV, pp. 111-2

6. No. I, L.22. समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्तृपुरादिप्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिः..।

7. Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, pp. 208-09

reduced the king of Samatata to the rank of a subordinate prince who had to part with most of his powers and was 'allowed to rule over a much reduced dominion as a vassal of the emperor'. Retaining only the control of its internal administration, he had to pay various kinds of taxes to Samudragupta, attend his durbars, render obeisance to him and gratify his imperious commands.[1] Samatata is the only territory in Bengal to be referred to in the Allahabad Prasasti.[2] The first epigraphic reference to Samatata is to be found in this inscription.[3] Literally the name means 'the shore country', or 'Level country'.[4] 'Samatata in the Gupta period denoted a territory lying to the east of the Brahmaputra'. The Brihatsamhita mentions it as a country situated in the East.[5] The Chinese traveller Hsuan Tsang proceeded from Kamarupa southwards and after a journey of 1,200 or 1,300 Li

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Cf. Sen, B.C., Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, p. 117

7. No. I, L. 22:

1. No. I, LL. 22-23: सर्व्व-कर-दानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-परितोषित-प्रचण्ड-शासनस्य .....।

2. Loc. cit., Sen, B.C., p. 209

3. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 165

4. Ibid., p. 166: Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 247: 'It was so called because the rivers in it had 'flat and level banks of equal height on both sides'.

5. बृहत्संहिता, XIV, p. 119, v. 6

(6 Li = 1 mile) reached the country of Samatata. According to him, this country was on the seaside and was low and moist and was more than 3,000 Li in circuit.[1] From Samatata, the pilgrim journeyed towards the West for over 900 Li and reached Tanmolihti,[2] or Tamralipta, the modern Tamluk in the Midnapur district.[3] Samatata, therefore, must have been the South-easter part of the Bengal presidency corresponding to the Dacca, Faridpur, Backerganj, Jessore and Khulna districts.[4]

It is known from the Baghaura Inscription[5] that the Tipperah districts was in Samatata. The Arya Manjusri Mula-kalpa states that Samatata was situated to the east of the Lohitya.[6] The Yadavaprakasa equates Bhaurika with Samatata.[7]

Epigraphical evidence, however, shows that Samatata comprised the districts of Comilla, Noakhali and Sylhat.[8] Its

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1. Waters' Yuan Chwang, Vol. ii, pp. 188-9

2. Ibid., p. 189

3. Bhattacharya Padmanath, "To the East of Samatata", J.R.A.S. (Great Britain), 1920, January, Part I, pp. 2-3

4. Ibid., This is the locality shown as Samatata in the map appended to Watters' volumes by V.A. Smith.

5. E.I., XVII, p. 353: Chaudhury, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 167

6. I.H.Q., XIX, p. 214

7. 'Yadavaprakasa' on the Ancient Geography of India', I.H.Q. XIX, p. 214

8. Dey, N.L., Geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 175: JASB, 1915, pp. 17-8

capital Karmmanta has been identified with Bad-Kamata, 12 miles west of Comilla districts.[1] After the rule of the Guptas, Samatata was successively under the Khadga, Candra, Varaman and Sena dynasties.[2]

13. Vengi (No. I, L. 20):

Inscription No. 1 mentions it with its king Hastivarmma who was subjugated by Samudragupta. It seems to be an abbreviated form of Vengipura by dropping the suffix Pura.[3] It is identified with Vegi or Pedda-vegi, a village near Ellore Taluka between the Krishna and the Godavari rivers.[4] Banerjee describes it as one of the Pallava kingdoms of South.[5] But the capital of the Pallavas was Kanci. Vengi was the capital of the Calukyan kings[6] and was also known as Vengai-nadu.[7]

Names of Localities

1. Avadara (No. 47, L. 10):

Kaivartti-sresthin is mentioned as the resident of

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1. I.H.Q.I., p. 256: Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, p. 257

2. Law, B.C., loc. cit., pp. 257-58

3. Law, B.C., loc. cit., p. 200

4. Loc. cit., Law, B.C., p. 200: Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka Gupta Age, ed. p. 145: Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 280. Raychaudhuri, H.C., Political history of ancient India (4th ed.), p. 453

5. Banerjee, N.D., History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 116

6. Miskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Part II, p. 33

7. Law, B.C., loc. cit., p. 200

Avadara.[1] Avadara is the only geographical name mentioned in the inscription, it appears to have been a locality near modern Supia, in Old Rewah State, from where the inscription has been found. The name is difficult to explain.

2. Himavacchikhara (No. 37, L. 5, L. 10):

Literally meaning 'the peak of the Himalayas' it has been identified with Barahacatra (Varahaksetra) in Nepal[2], which is the same as the Kokamukha tirtha mentioned in the Mahabharata and the Puranas.[3] The original temples of the gods Kokamukha and Svetavarsha referred to in the record[4] along with Himavacchikhara, were situated at this place.[5]

3. Nasti (No. 5, LL. 4-5):

The second part of the word is not legible. It seems to have been the name of a town in the Sukuli desa. The meaning of the word is not clear. It must have been a place near Sanci in the Madhya Pradesh.

4. Pancakulyavapaka (No. 38, L. 16):

The Damodarpur Copper plate inscription of Bhanugupta (No. 38) records that one kulyavaka of land was purchased to the north of Pancakulyavaka. Literally it means 'a plot of

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1. No. 47, LL. 10-11
2. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 337, f.n.3
3. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India, p. 222
4. No. 37, LL. No. 5-10
5. Sircar, D.C., loc.cit., p. 222

land five kulyavapas in area'. It seems to refer to a village or locality comprising five kulyavapas of land.[1] A kulyavapa is 'an area of land requiring one kulya measure of seed grains to be sown.'[2] This land measure differed in different ages and localities. Maity[3] gives this area of five kulyavapas in terms of modern measurements as follows:

5 kulyavapas = 1 pataka = 192-240 bighas = 72-88 acres

and believes the lower figures to be more correct.

5. Paraspatika (No. 38, L. 16):

It seems to be the name of a locality. The metathesis of two letters 's' and 'p' seems to have worked here. Its correct Sanskrit form should have been 'Parapastika'. The word 'prapasti' means a house, habitation or abode.'[4]

6. Trivrta (No. 45, L. 2, L. 8, L. 15):

In L. 2, two localities named Trivrta and Srigohali have

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1. Maity, S.K., Economic life of northern India in the Gupta period, p. 38
2. Sircar, D.C, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p. 165
3. Loc. cit., Maity, S.K., p. 41
4. Apte, V.S., Vol. II, p. 1000

Cf. प्रपस्त्यामदितिं सिन्धुमर्कैः स्वस्तिमीले सख्याय देवीम्

RV. 4.55.3: 8.27.5

पस्त्यावत् is called a householder in Veda RV. I.151.2: 2.11.16. In the Kirtikaumudi, we find the word पस्त्यम् used for a house, habitation or abode:

पस्त्यं प्रयातुमथ तं प्रभुरापपृच्छे

Kir.K. (Bombay), 9.74

been mentioned as connected with the village named Vayigrama.[1] Literally it means 'surrounded or covered by three sides.' It seems that when the locality was founded the city was surrounded by some natural boundary on its three sides. This may have been in the form of rivulets or streams or hillocks.

Tribal Place-names

Following are the place-names which have tribal associations without any mention of the specific boundary:

1. Aryavartta (No. 1, 1.21):

Samudragupta is stated to have violently exterminated many kings of Aryavarta such as Rudradeva, Matila, Nagadatta, Candravarman, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Acyuta, Nandi and Balavarman.[2] We also find references to Aryavarta in other epigraphic records.[3]

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1. No. 45. L.2: वायिग्रामिक-त्रिवृता-श्रीगोहाल्यो:.....।

2. No. I. L. 21:

रुद्रदेव-मतिल-नागदत्त-चन्द्रवर्म्म-गणपतिनाग-नागसेनाच्युत-नन्दि-बलवर्म्माद्यनेकार्य्यावर्त्तराजप्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृत्तप्रभावमहतः ....।

3. Arya + avarta Avarta is a crowded place where many men live close together or it can mean an 'abode': M.W., p. 156, col. 2: Apte, V.S., Vol. I, p. 356

Literally Aryavarta[1] means 'the abode of the Aryans, or excellent or noble'. The word 'Arya' here is a significant one. It has been interpreted in two ways: some scholars derive the word Arya from the root Ar, to plough, and suggest that the Vedic Aryans were so called because they despised the pursuits of agriculture and remained shepherds and hunters.[2]

"If Arya were purely a racial term, a more probable derivation would be Ar, meaning strength or valour, from ar to fight, whence we have the name of the Greek war-god Ares, areios, brave or warlike, perhaps even arete, virtue signifying, like the Latin virtues, first physical strength and courage and then moral force and elevation."[3] "Intrinsically, in its most fundamental sense, Arya means an effort or an uprising or overcoming. The Aryan is he who strives and overcomes all outside him and within him that stands opposed to the human advance."[4] Wilson says that a variety of ancient designations of which 'Aria' is a component element (cf. Ariana)

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1. Arya + avarta Avarta is a crowded place where many men live close together or it can mean an 'abode': M.W., p. 156, Apte, V.S., Vol. I, p. 356

2. Kewal Motwani, Manu Dharma Sastra, "A sociological and Historical Study", p. 374

3. Ibid., p. 374

4. Ibid., p. 374

are connected with the term Arya. The Zend name for the country to the west of the Indus was 'Eriene-veejo', that is the Sanskrit Aryavarta.[1]

In defining the boundaries of Aryavarta, Vasistha and Baudhayana in their Dharmasutras lay stress on the word Arya and explain it to mean sista. Patanjali also in his Mahabhasya first explains the meaning of sista in order to draw attention to the cultural basis of the name Aryavarta. He remarks that correct conduct is found in Aryavarta and then mentions its boundaries.[2]

In the Brahmana period the centre of Aryan culture and civilization shifted to the Gangetic Doab "Aryavarta came to be treated as conterminous with the region between the Ganga and Yamuna.[3] In the Taittiriya Aranyaka[4] special honour is assigned

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1. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, London, pp. 121-22. vide Ethnic Settlements in ancient India, p. 103, f.n. I

2. Law, B.C., "Aryavarta", I.H.Q., XXV, No. I, pp. 114-15. Baudhayana Dharmasutra I.1.5-6, 2.9-10, I.1.25: I.2.6, 1.3-7,1.8: Mahabhasya on Panini, VI.3.109, II.4.10, vide ibid.

3. Loc. cit., Law, B.C., p. 120: Macdonnel and Keith, Vedic Index, II, p. 125. Cf. Baudhayana, II, 2.16:

"प्राग्दर्शनात्प्रत्यक्कालकवनादुदक्विनेन हिमवन्तमुदक् पारियात्रमेतदार्यावर्तम्। तस्मिन् य आचारः स प्रमाणम्। गंगायमुनयोरंतरमित्येके।"

4. II. 2

to those who dwell between the Ganga and the Yamuna. In the Sutra period Aryavarta extended from the hills of Central Rajasthan to the hills of Central Bihar.[1]

At the time of Patanjali,[2] Aryavarta was bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by Pariyatraka, on the west by Adarsavali and on the east by Kalakavana (Rajmahal hills) 'Black Forest' or rather Kanakhala, near Hardwar.[3]

Thus it seems that Aryavarta bore a sacerdotal sense and denoted a particularly limited area where Aryan institutions were the basis of social order.[4]

What was originally called Aryavarta was later named as Madhya-desa and Aryavarta came to include the whole of Northern India. This is related to the gradual spread of Aryanism.[5] Brahmavarta and Brahmarsidesa lost their identity in the Madhya-desa and combined with Pracya, Praticya and Udicya (Uttarapatha) became the equivalent of Aryavarta.[6] Both Udicya

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1. Macdonnel and Keith, Vedic, Index, Vol. II, p. 125: see Madhya-desa

2. Mahabhasya on Panini, VI.3.109: II.4.10: Dey, N.L., The geography dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p.12

3. See on Kanakhala, Hultzsch, I.A., 34, 179

4. Loc. cit., B.C. Law, p. 121

5. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Rajadharma, p. 50: Sircar, D.C., Studies in the geography of ancient and mediaeval India, p. 172, f.n. 3

6. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p.8

and Pracya were taken as the home (loka) of standard Sanskrit both in Panini's time and earlier. In the time of Patanjali, Aryavarta came to be regarded as the home of the Sistas (persons proficient in the Sastras) whose language set the norm.[1]

By the second century A.D., the last limit for the composition of the Manu-smrti, the wider outlook of Aryavarta was popular. It was the name of the tract extending from the Eastern to the Western Ocean, and bounded on the north and south by the Himalaya and Vindhya respectively.[2] This is supported by the Kavyamimamsa of Rajasekhara.[3] Rajasekhara speaks of the river Narmada (as the dividing line between Aryavarta and the Daksinapatha.[4] In Inscription No. I, L.20, Aryavarta is contrasted with Daksinapatha, 'the southern

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1. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p. 39

2. Manu smrti, 2, II. 22:
आ समुद्रात् तु वै पूर्वादासमुद्रात् पश्चिमात् ।
तयोरेवान्तरं गिर्यो: आर्यावर्तं विदुर्बुधा: ॥

3. राजशेखर, काव्यमीमांसा, सप्तदशोऽध्याय:, पृ. 235
पूर्वापरयो: समुद्रयो र्हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोश्चान्तरं यदार्यावर्त: ।

4. Balaramayana, Act 6, V.S. Apte's Rajasekhara, his life and writings, p. 21

region'.[1] The wider sense of Aryavarta is also supported by references in the Abhidhana-cintamani[2] and the Rajatarangini.[3]

Thus we can say that in the time of Samudragupta Aryavarta was a general term for the whole of Northern India.

2. Kakanadabota (No. 5, L. 1, No. 23, L. 2):

In both the inscriptions, we find reference to a grant to the Arya Samgha or the Community of the faithful, at the great vihara, or Buddhist convent of Kakanadabota,[4] for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

D.C. Sircar takes 'Kakanadabota' to be the old name of Sanci.[5] Fleet is of the view that the Kakanadabota convent is the Great Stupa itself. According to him the word Bota is another form of Pota which means 'the foundation of a house'.[6]

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1. Cf. C.I.I. III, p. 13, f.n. 5
2. Bhavanagara edn. p. 397
3. राजतरंगिणी-कोष
   p. 14, 5.152, 1.313, 1.341, 6.87
4. No. 5, L. 1: No. 2, L.2: ककनादबोट-सी-महाविहारे...।
5. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, ed. 1965, p. 281, f.n.3
6. C.I.I. III, p. 31, also see f.n. I

Fleet further writes that the name 'Kakanada' lit. 'the noise of the crow' was the ancient name of Sanci itself which is proved by its occurrence in two inscriptions in Mauryan characters found at Sanci.[1]

Thus, it is clear that Kakanada was the ancient name of Sanci in the Bhopal State, now Raisen district, Madhya Pradesh well-known for its Buddhist topes.[2] The word 'bota' is thus a surplus and joined by 'Kakanada' will refer to the Great stupa itself. Its form Pota meaning the foundation of a house is untenable because the word 'vihara' in that very sense appears in the inscriptions. The word 'bota' has been used here in the sense of an asetic cult.[3] It is a Prakrit word which has been used here to refer to 'the Buddhist cult'. Thus the relevant expression means 'In the holy great vihara of the

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1. Ibid., p. 31:

   काकणाये भगवते पमण-लठि

   i) Kakanaye bhagavato pamana-lathi. "the measuring staff of (Buddha), the Divine One, at Kakanada".

   सपुरिसस गोतिपुतस काकनाद-पभासनस कोडिन-गोतस'

   ii) 'Sapurisada Gotiputasa Kakanada-Pabhasanasa Kodina-gotasa' = "(the relics) of the virtuous Prabhasana of Kakanada, the Gotiputra, of the Kaundinya gotra".

2. Cf. Dey, N.L., The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 83: Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, ed. 1965, p. 280

3. Cf. पाइअसद्दमहण्णवो, पृ. 639 :

   बोडिय (बोटिक)। दिगम्बर जैन सम्प्रदाय, वि. दिगम्बर जैनसम्प्रदाय का अनुयायी" .. 'बोडियसिवभूईओ बोडियलिंगस्स होइ उप्पत्ती' .. ।

buddhist cult (assembly) at Kakanada.'

Fleet is wrong in translating the word Kakanada to mean 'the noise of the crow.'[1] K.P. Jayaswal's rendering 'the praise of the Kakas'[2] is more to the point. We know of the Kakas, an autonomous community mentioned in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta.[3] In Eastern Malwa we have two ancient place-names connected with the Kakas. One is the hill now called Sanci hill (the ancient) Kakanada. The other is an ancient village called Kaka-pura, some 20 miles north of Bhilsa: and full of ancient monuments.[4]

3. Uttara Kuru (No. 22, L. 7):

A person named Samkara is described in the inscription as born in the region of the north, the best of countries, which resembles (in beautitude) the land of the Northern Kurus.[5]

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1. C.I.I. III, p. 31

2. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVIII, 1932, Pt. II, p. 212

3. No. I, L. 22: C.I.I. III, pp. 8,14

4. Jayaswal, K.P. 'The Kakas -- their location', 'The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society', Vol. XVIII, 1932, Pt. II, pp. 212-13. P. 212 'Kakapura is situated on a river and a hill opposite the village by the road has two square temples and a few Gupta sculptures. A large number of pillars and Sati memorials cover the plain in front of the temple hill. Medieval inscriptions are also in evidence. They with the temples testify to the continued importance of the place, from the Gupta to the mediaeval period.'

5. No. 22, LL. 6-7

The Kurus had two branches, the northern and the southern. Uttarakuru, or the country of the Northern Kurus, is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern range of the Himalaya mountains, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness.[1] We have discussed in details, the Kurus, in the section on tribes. The Brihatsamhita[2] mentions it a country situated in the North. In the later period the Uttarakurus had only a mythical or legendary existence.

4. Vanga (No. 20, L. I):

In this inscription, king Candra, "on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in Vanga countries, is stated to have kneaded back with his breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against him.'[3] This is taken by scholars[4] to be the first epigraphic mention of Vanga. The Vangas here mean the 'Vanga country, the eastern Bengal of modern times. Bajpai states the Vangas of the Meharauli

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1. C.I.I. III, p. 260, f.n. 4

2. XIV.V. 24:

उत्तरतः कैलासो हिमवान् वसुमान् गिरिधनुष्मांश्च।
क्रौञ्चो मेरुः कुरवस्तथोत्तराः क्षुद्रमीनाश्च ॥

3. No. 20, L. I:

यस्योद्वर्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्वङ्गेष्वाहववर्तिनोऽभि
लिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिर्भुजे।

4. Law, B.C., Tribes in ancient India, p. 265: Chaudhury, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 181: though it occurs in another earlier inscription (E.I., XXI, 85 ff) but the reading is disputed : ibid., p. 181, f.n. 4

Pillar Inscription of Candra (No. 20) as the people living in the Makaran coast of Baluchistan.[1] But the Vangas here denote the country and not the people. Moreover the victory of king Candra over the Vanga countries has no connection with his conquest of the Vahlikas. Both are the separate mentions of his campaign. In Sanskrit the tribal name in the plural is regularly used to indicate the country inhabited by the tribe.[2] The Vanga countries are also referred to in the Mahakuta Pillar inscription,[3] but in the inscriptions after the 9th century A.D. the word Vangala is usually mentioned.[4]

The earliest mention of the Vangas along with the Magadhas is in the Aitareya Aranyaka.[5] The name is also found in the Baudhayana Dharma Sutra[6] where they Vangas are mentioned as impure people.[7] But the Drama 'Pratijna-

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1. Bajpai, K.D., Hirashi Felicitation Volume, p. 358

2. पाणिनि 4.2.81, सर्वमतकौमुदी, पृ. 72

3. E.I., Vol. V

4. I.C., Vol. II, p. 755: Law, B.C., Historical geography of ancient India, pp. 268-69
ii,1,1:

5. Macdonnel and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 237

6. i,1,14

7. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 179

Yaugandharayana' (Act II), ascribed to Bhasa and probably not older than the 4th century A.C., suggests that the ruling families of Bengal were regarded as equals to those of Northern India for intermarriage with the royal family of Malava.[1]

The people of Vanga are stated to have fought in the Kuruksetra war[2] and, in course of his expedition Bhisma is said to have defeated Samudrasena of Vanga.[3] The Kasika mentions Vangaka to explain Panini's sutra (IV.3.100) denoting loyalty of the citizen to the state.[4] Panini mentions Vangi (the lady of Vanga Janapada) along with Avanti, Kuru and Yaudheyi.[5] Patanjali also refers to the Vangas by way of illustration.[6] Kautilya makes similar references to the country.[7] The Bhagava.Purana also mentions it as a country.[8]

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1. Chatterji, S.K., The origin and development of the Bengali language, Vol. I, p. 76
2. Mahabharata, VII, 159.3
3. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 180
4. Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p. 432
5. IV. 1. 176-178: Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Panini, p. 91
6. IV. I. 4, Keilhorn's edition, II, p. 282
7. Artha Sastra (Shamashastri, ed.), p. 82
8. IX, 23.5

Kalidasa states that Raghu after conquering the Sumhas[1] defeated the Vangas with his force.[2] The Kavyamimamsa mentions Vanga as a janapada situated in the east.[3] The Brhatsamhita also mentions it in the East along with Upa Vanga.[4]

According to the Mahabharata[5] Vanga, son of Bali, had

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1. रघुवंश, 4.35

2. Ibid., 4.36

3. काव्यमीमांसा, तृतीयोऽध्यायः, पृ. २०। अथ सर्वे प्रथमं प्राचीं दिशं शिश्रियुर्यत्राङ्कवङ्गसुह्मद्रह्मपुण्ड्रादयो जनपदाः,

4. XIV. p. 119, V. 8:

आग्नेय्यां दिशि कोशलकलिङ्गवङ्गोपवङ्गजठराङ्गाः ।

'Upa Vanga is commonly identified with some portions of the Gangetic Delta'. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p. 182

5. आदिपर्व, अ. 104, श्लो. 52-55

तां स दीर्घतमाङ्गेषु स्पृष्ट्वा देवीमथाब्रवीत् ।
भविष्यन्ति कुमारास्ते तेजसादित्यवर्चसः ॥ ५२ ॥ 52

अङ्गो वङ्गकलिङ्गश्च पुण्ड्रः सुह्मश्च ते सुताः ।
तेषां देशाः समाख्याताः स्वनाम कथिता भुवि ॥ 53

अङ्गस्याङ्कोऽभवद्देशो वङ्गो वङ्गस्य च स्मृतः ।
कलिङ्गविषयश्चैव कलिङ्गस्य च स्मृतः ॥ 54

पुण्ड्रस्य पुण्ड्राः प्रख्याताः सुह्माः सुह्मस्य च स्मृताः ।
एवं बलेः पुरा वंशः प्रख्यातो वै महर्षिजः ॥ 55

established this country, The Amarakosa[1] mentions Vanga as a synonym of Ranga (lead : Ranga), but lead is not available in Bengal and is found in abundance in Malaya, Pegu and East Indies. People in other parts of India may have received lead through the people of East Bengal. Susruta also uses Vanga in the same sense as Amara[2] does.

R.C. Banerji[3], on the basis of the Ablur Inscription of the Kalacuri king Bijjala[4] takes Vanga and Vangala as two distinct people or tribes. This view has been correctly refuted by S.B. Chaudhuri[5] who concludes that Vangala was within Vanga and hence was not an altogether separate geographical entity as is maintained by some.

The confusion may be due to the fact that the geographical location of the Vanga country changed in different periods. The same country Vanga was known as Vangala with the addition of the Prakrit suffix 'ala'[6] which was transliterated by the

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1. अमरकोश 2.9.106 सङ्गवङ्गे पृ. 348

   In Punjab bangles are called 'Vanga'. Firstly they might have been made by Vanga (lead). Sikhs still use Kara made of lead as a mark of their religion.

2. अर्थप्रकाशिका, भूमिका, पृ. 47

3. I.C., Vol. II, pp. 755-56

4. E.I., V, p. 257

5. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements of ancient India, pp. 184-85

6. The derivation of Abul Fazl 'vanga + al (Sanskrit ali 'dike')-

Muslims as Bangalah (pronouncing Bangala) in their script[1] and this was changed into Bengal by the English people.

The Yadavaprakasa equates Vanga with Harikeli[2] but the Kalpadrukosa a work of the seventeenth century states that Srihatta is Harikeli.[3] The Commentary of Yasodhara on the Kamasutra refers to Vanga as situated to the east of the Brahmaputra.[4]

Majumdar, R.C., History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 19, seems to be incorrect. (Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of ancient and medieval India 'Bengal', p. 132).

"The prakrit suffix 'ala' gives the same sense as "vat" or "alu" in Sanskrit: Cf. Jadala = Sansk. Jatavat: Jo-hala = Jyotsnavat: Sihala = Sikhavat. See R. Pischel Grammatic der Prakrit - Sprachen, 402, 505. The term 'vangala' may thus represent Vangavat, applied to a country inhabited by the Vangas. Also see ,26. Vide अर्थप्रकाशिका, भूमिका 46:

"अस्ति तावद् वङ्ग नामा देशः, यस्मिन् पारावारसदृश्यः पद्मावती प्रभृतयः तरङ्गिण्यः समुल्लसन्ति। यत्र च पावनो ब्रह्मपुत्रनामा [illegible] महानदो मज्जन्जन्तून्पावयति। तस्यायमीश्वरः प्रभूतसेनात्मजो वीरसेनाह्वयः। वङ्गालशोणिपालस्त्रिभुवनजनतागीतकीर्तिप्ररोहः।

1. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India, p. 131
2. I.H.Q., XIX, X p.214 ff.: I.C., VII, p. 411
3. Ibid., pp. 219-20: Sircar, D.C., Studies in geography of ancient and medieval India, p. 125
4. वङ्गो लोहित्यात्पूर्वेण of Yasodhara on Vatas. Sutra (VI.5.25, p. 294) ed. by Damodara Gosvamin: I.C. II,755 ff. Chaudhuri, S.B., Ethnic settlements in ancient India, p.187

CHAPTER II

The rivers :

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

(1) Ganga (No. I,L.31, No. 13, L.16):

In Inscription No. I Samudragupta's fame has been compared with the pale yellow water of the river Ganga, which travelling by many paths, purifies the three worlds, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the) god Pasupati.[1] In the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman and Visnuvardhana[2] it is stated that when the river Ganga was about to descend from heaven to earth, in order to break the force of its fall, god Siva (Pasupati) received it in the matted hair coiled above his forehead and projecting like a horn, its waters wandered there for a thousand years, before they eventually reached the earth.

In Inscription No. 13, we get a reference to Ganga in

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1. L.L. 30-31, V. 9:

प्रदान-भुज-विक्रम-प्रशम-शास्त्रवाक्योदयैरुपर्युपरि - स चयोच्छ्रित-
मनेक-मार्ग्गं यशः। पुनाति भुवन-त्रयं पशुपतेर्ज्जटान्तर्गुहा-निरोध-
परिमोक्ष-शीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गाङ्गं (पयः) (॥)

(11) (9)

2. C. 11.III, p. 152, LL. 1-3, p. 16, f.n. 3

the context of Skandagupta's fight with the Hunas, the noise of which was heard like the roaring of (the river) Ganga, making itself noticed in their ears.[1]

A.C. Woolner[2] remarked that the name Ganga does not seem to have a convincing derivation on the Aryan side. But we do find the word in the Unadi affixes. The affix Gan comes after the root Gam 'to go' and the word Ganga is formed[3].

The earliest mention of Ganga is in the Rgveda[4]. The name also occurs in the Satapatha Brahmana[5] and the Taittiriya Aranyaka[6]. We find it also in Patanjali's Mahabhasya,[7] and in Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa[8]. It is mentioned many times in the

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1. No. 13, L. 16, V. 8. The text of the words in between is damaged:

हूणैर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कंपिता भीमावर्तकरस्य...

......, ऊदयां इव श्रोत्रेषु गाङ्गध्वनिः ॥

2. 'Prakritic and Non-Aryan Strata in the Vocabulary of Sanskrit' vide Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, Patna 1926-28, p. 71

3. Basu, S.C., The Siddhanta Kaumudi (1962), 123 गन्गम्यद्योः । १/१२३. Thus Ganga, 'The river Ganges (is formed)

4. X. 75. 5, VI. 45, 31

5. XIII, 5, 4, 11

6. ii, 20

7. Kielhorn, 1,1,9, p. 436: 1.4.2, p. 670

8. रघुवंश IV. 73: VII.36: VI.48: VIII.95: XIII.57: XIV.3

Puranas[1] in which a good deal of religious importance is attached to it.[2]

The Ganga emerges first in the Gangotri in the district of Garhwal and proceeds in different courses from Hardwar to Bulandshahar and from Allahabad to Rajmahal from where it enters Bengal[3].

(2) Hacata Ganga (No. 53, L. 31):

We find the mention of Hacata Ganga in inscription No. 53, but it is difficult to identify it. It may however be remarked that here the word Ganga is to be taken in the sense of a river[4].

(3) Jambunadi (No. 38, L. 17):

Sen considers it to be the name of a river[5]. It has been described as the name of one of the seven arms of the heavenly Ganga.[6] We also know of a Jambunadi as a vithi in the Gaya Visaya mentioned in the Nalanda plate of

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1. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 38-39

2. Ibid., pp. 179-83: Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, pp. 585-96

3. Law, B.C. Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 78

4. I.H.Q., VI, p. 60, f.n. 2:

   The word gang 'for rivulet' is still current in East Bengal. Cf. Sen, B.C., 'Some Historical Aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, p. 95

5. Ibid., p. 108

6. M.W. p. 412, col. 3

Dharmapaladeva[1].

(4) Kalindi (No. 18,L. 3):

According to the inscription in the reign of Budhagupta, his feudatory, Maharaja Surasmicandra was governing the country lying between the river Kalindi and the Narmada.[2] Kalindi is the same as the river Yamuna.[3] The Yamuna has got its source from the Kalindadesa, a mountainous country situated in the Bandarapuccha range of the Himalaya, and hence the river is called Kalindi.[4] In the Puranas we get the earlier mention of Kalindi by both the names, Kalindi as well as Yamuna[5]. The Kalindi is also mentioned in the Sisupalavadha of Magha[6].

(5) Narmada (No. 18, L. 3):

The above-mentioned inscription describes reign of Maharaja Surasmicandra, a feudatory of Budhagupta, as governing

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1. Pandey, M.S., The Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar, p. 129, E.I. Vol. XXIII, pp. 290-92

2. No. 18, LL. 2-3

3. C. 11.III. p. 89: Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 85

4. Loc. cit., N.L. Dey, p. 85. See Kalinda-desa

5. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 39 note I, p. 40

6. Sisupalavadha IV. 26

over the area between the rivers Kalindi and Narmada[1]. This is one of the earliest inscriptional references to the river Narmada[2]. It is mentioned as Narmados by Ptolemy[3]. No express reference to the Narmada can be traced in the Vedic literature. But the knowledge of the river is implied in the reference to a chief Revottaras mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana[4]. We find from the Amarakosa[5] that Reva is another name of the river Narmada. It is likely that the name of the chief was derived from his association with the river[6]. The Raghuvamsa speaks of Mahismati as the capital of Anupa on the bank of the Reva (i.e. Narmada)[7]. It has been mentioned several times in the Mahabharata and the Puranas[8]. The Vishnupurana says that by chanting a mantra address to the Narmada, one does not have any fear from serpents[9]. The river rises in the Amarakantaka

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1. No. 18 LL. 2-3
2. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, p. 705
3. Ibid., p. 705
4. XII. 9. 3. I
5. अमरकोष 1/10/32: रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका ।
6. Loc. cit., Kane, p. 703
7. रघुवंश VI. 43
8. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Vol. IV, p. 703
9. IV. 3. 12-13: नर्मदायै नमः प्रातर्नर्मदायै नमो निशि ।
नमोस्तु नर्मदे तुभ्यं त्राहि मां विषसर्पतः ॥

mountain and falls into the Gulf of Cambay. The junction of the Narmada with the sea is a sacred place of pilgrimage.[1] According to the Puranas it flows from a Rksavat (a part of the Vindhyan range) though some of them refer to it arising directly from the Vindhya itself.[2]

It is stated in the Kurma and Matsya Puranas that a man who commits suicide at any tirtha on the Narmada or on the Amarakantaka does not return to this world.[3] Several rivers such as Kapila, Visalya, Erandi, Iksunadi and Kaveri[4] are mentioned as falling into the Narmada.

(6) <u>Padma</u> (No. 16, L. 5):

The inscription No. 16 refers to a brahmana named Devavisnu, who belonged to the community of Caturvedins of Padma of the town of Indrapura.[5] The Ganga is also known as Padma or Padda.[6] The community of the brahmanas mentioned in the inscription might have lived by the side of the river. D.C. Sircar takes Padma to be the name

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"Salutation to Narmada in the morning! salutation to Narmada at night! Narmada? salutation to you, save me from poisonous serpents.

1. Dey, N.L., <u>The geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India</u>, p. 138. p. 4, see Amarakantaka: Loc. cit.,
2. Sircar, D.C., <u>Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India</u>, pp. 49, 56: Loc. cit., Dey, N.L., pp. 168-9
3. Kane, <u>History of Dharmasastra</u>, Vol. IV, p. 7-5
4. Ibid.
5. No. 16, L. 5: चैन्द्रपुरक-पद्मा-चातुर्विद्य-सामान्यब्राह्मणदेवविष्णुः..।

   See Indrapura in the place-names.
6. Chatterji, S.K., <u>The origin and development of the Bengali language</u>, Vol. I, p. 67

of a locality in the town of Indrapura[1]. The inscription (No. 16) also tells us that Skandagupta's feudatory visayapati Sarvanaga was governing Antarvedi or the country lying between the Ganga and the Yamuna[2].

(7) Palasini[3] (No. 14, L. 16):

This river Palasini issues from the mountain Raivataka. On account of the flood it had swollen. The poet, in describing the scene says that the river had gone to join the sea. Palasini is described as emanating from the mountain Urjayat (i.e. the same as Raivataka)[4]. We find another Palasini, (mod Paras), a tributory of the Koel in Chotanagpur[5]. It seems that the river was decorated with numerous Palasa (flower) trees that grew on its banks. The flowers falling in the river must have given it the name of Palasini.[6]

(8) Sikata[7] (No. 14, L. 16):

The river Sikata takes its source from the mountain

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965) p. 319 f.n.9
2. C. II. III, pp. 69-70: LL. 3-4
3. See the Appendix No. V
4. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions, p. 176
5. Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, pp. 245, 293
6. C. II. III, p. 64
7. See the appendix No. V

Raivataka. It is the same as Suvarna-sikata mentioned in the Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman.[1] This Sikata or Suvarnasikata is to be identified with modern Sonarekha.[2] The name Suvannareha (Suvarnarekha) is also met with in Vividha-tirthakalpa.[3] Thus the first part of the river's name has remained unchanged for about two thousand years. The second part has been replaced by a new one. The exact derivative as suggested by Chatterji will be a form like Sonasita or Sonasi.[4] The river was named Suvarnasikta because its sand contains particles of gold.[5]

(9) Sindhu (No.20, L.2) :

The river is mentioned in connexion with the description of the victories of king Candra who is said to have conquered the Vahlikas after having crossed the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu[6] in warfare.

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p.176
2. Ibid., p. 313, f.n. 1: Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Pt. II, p.8
3. विविधतीर्थकप्पं, पृ.१० : तं जहा - उज्जसेणगढं ति वा, खंगारगढं ति वा, जुण्णदुग्गं ति वा। उत्तरदिसाए विसालथंभसालासालिहिओ दसदसार-मंडवो गिरिदुवारे य पंचमो हरी दामोयरो सुवण्णरेहा-नईपारे वट्टइ।
4. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.51; also see f.n.1
5. Ibid, p.51, f.n.2: Mirat - I. Ahmadi, Supplement, 205, takes note of this river. It says, "Gold is deposited in its bed, but there is not enough to make its working profitable.
6. No.20, L.2.
तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता वाह्लिकाः,

Sindhu in the Rgveda[1] and the Atharvaveda[2] often means simply a 'stream'. The Rgveda (VIII. 24.27) refers to 'Sapta Sindhavah' or 'the seven rivers'[3]. But it is also[4] used in the more exact sense of the 'stream' par excellence or 'The Indus'. We get a reference to Sindhu as a river in the Amara-kosa.[5] The territory is adjoining it were famous for horses[6] and salt.[7]

The term Sindhu was corrupted to Hindu in the old Persian inscriptions of Darius I (516-485 B.C.), and to Indus by the Ionian (= Panini's Yavana) Greeks.[8] The word 'India' is derived from the river Sindhu or the Indus.[9] Taking its rise from the snows of Western

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1. i,97,8: 125,5: ii, 11,9: 253-5: iii, 53,9, etc.

2. iii, 13.1: iv.24,2: x.4.15: xiii.3.50 etc.

3. Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 8

4. RV., 1,122,6: 126.1: iv.54.6: 55.3: v.53.9: vii,95,1: viii,12,3: 25,14: 20,25: 26,18: x.64,9: AV,xii,1,3: xiv,1,43, etc.: Vedic Index, Pt. II, p. 450

5. अमरकोश p. 100: 1.10.35: p. 458: 3.3.101

6. Brhadaranyaka Upanisad, VI.2.15

7. अमरकोश, p. 321: 2.9.42

8. Agrawala, V.S., India as Known to Panini, p. 51

9. Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India, p. 186: Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 8

Kailasa in Tibet, the Sindhu first flows northwest of Kashmir and South of little Pamir, and then takes a southward course along which lay some of the important cities of north India. Emerging from the Darad highlands, the river (Daradi Sindhuh) enters the Gandhara country until it receives its most important western tributary the Kabul river at Ohind, a few miles north of Attock.[1]

The river Sindhu is mentioned in the Puranas along with the Ganga, Sarasvati, Satluj, Chinab and Yamuna.[2]

Vogel suggests that the expression 'Sindhor sapta mukhani' may indicate the 'sapta sindhavah' of the Rgveda, i.e. the river Indus and its tributaries. The term mukha would then be not taken in the sense of 'the mouth of a river', but as meaning a river-head,[3] But the translation of the expression as done by Fleet (i.e. the seven mouths of the river Indus) is generally accepted.[4] The seven mouths of the river Indus thus represent the points of its confluence with its tributaries and not the tributaries individually as suggested by Vogel.

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1. Loc. cit., Agrawala, V.S., p. 44: D.C. Gangoly, 'Yadava-prakasa' on the Ancient Geography of India', vide I.H.Q. XIX, p. 217

2. Sircar, D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 39-40

3. M.A.S.I. No. 22, p. 44: Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from SANSKRIT Inscriptions, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 23

4. C. II.III, p. 141: Sircar D.C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 184

(10) Sudarsana (No. 14, L. 15, L. 17):

It is the name of a lake situated at some distance from Girinagara as mentioned in the Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I (150 A.D.).[1] The lake was originally constructed by the Vaisya Pusyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya king Chandragupta. Later on during the reign of Asoka it was adorned with conduits, by the Yavana governor Tusaspha.[2] The same lake was destroyed by the excessive floods in the Suvarnasikata, Palasini and other streams arising from the mountain Urjayat.[3] By a breach, four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as much broad, (and) seventy-five cubits deep, all the water flowed out, so that, the lake, almost like a sandy desert became extremely ugly to look at.[4] The lake was immediately beautified with repairs by king Rudradaman.[5]

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1. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 176:

L.I. इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगरात् .....।

Also see f.n. 2: Girinagara was the name of the ancient city now represented by Junagarh (in South Kathiawad). The Sudarsana lake was formed in the valley round the foot of the Girnar hill by an embankment across the gorge.

2. Ibid., p. 177

LL. 8-9 .... मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्रगुप्तस्य राष्ट्रियेन वैश्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य कृते यवनराजेन तुषास्फेनाधिष्ठाय प्रणालीभिरलंकृतम् ।

3. Ibid., pp. 176-77, LL. 5-8 4. Ibid., pp. 176-77, LL15-8
5. Ibid., pp. 179-80: LL. 15-16

Inscription No. 14 informs us that during the reign of Gupta king Skandagupta in the year 136 (G.E.), due to heavy continuous rains the Sudarsana lake burst out on all sides[1] and had the appearance of a sea. Eventually, contrary to the literal meaning of its name the Sudarsana became ugly to look at.[2] The lake was repaired in the year 137 (G.E.)[3] (= A.D.) by Cakrapalita, who was appointed governor of Girinagara by his father Parnadatta, who was Skandagupta's viceroy in Surastra.[4]

(11) Vata-nadi (No. 44, L.22):

We get a reference to the Vata-nadi in an inscription at Kalaikuri, Sultanpur near Naogaon, Rajshahi district, East Pakistan. It was flowing to the east of a village named Dhanyapatalika.

'The Vata nadi appears to be the modern Bara-nai, Singra lying about 10 miles to the north-east of its junction with the Atrai.'[5] It flows west to east through the southern part of the Rajsahi district.[6]

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1. See the appendix

2. No. 14, LL. 15-17

   The account of breach given in this inscription tallies with that of the Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I (see Select Inscription (ed. 1965), pp. 176-77, LL. 5-8)

3. No. 4, LL. 19-21

4. Ibid., LL. 8-12

5. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 354

6. Sircar, D.C., I.H.Q. XIX. p. 20

12. Vilasini (No. 14, L. 16)[1]

The river comes out from the mountain Raivataka. Fleet takes Sikatavilasini as an adjective of Palasini[2], but the three, Sikata, Vilanisi and Palasini seem to be separate rivers as we find the use of the plural number in the case which denotes the mention of more than two rivers. Hence Vilasini is the third river in the context: the other two being Palasini and Sikata (Suvarnasikata).

The Mountains

1. Kailasa (No. 17, L. 6: L. 13):

In L. 6 of the inscription the poet while giving an account of the city of Dasapura describes its buildings as lofty like the mountain Kailasa itself.[3] L. 13 describes the mountain Kailasa as one of the breasts of the earth (the other being Sumeru) which was being reigned over by the Gupta king Kumaragupta.[4]

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1. See the appendix No. V
2. C.I.I. III, p. 64
3. No. 17 L. 6: कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलभीनि सवेदिकानि।
4. Ibid., L. 13:
चतुस्समुद्रान्तविलोलमेखलां, सुमेरुकैलासबृहत्पयोधराम् ।
वनान्तवान्तस्फुटपुष्पहासिनीं, कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति ॥

Kailasa mountain is situated about 25 miles to the north of Manas-sarovara beyond Gangri and to the east of the Niti Pass.[1] The Mahabharata[2] includes the Kumaun and Garwal mountains in the Kailasa range. The mountain is also known as Hemakuta, Hamkaragiri and is to be identified with the Astapada mountain of the Jainas.[3] It surpasses in beauty the big Gurla or any other of the Indian Himalaya.[4] Traditionally it is supposed to be the habitat of Siva and Parvati.[5]

2. Raivataka (No. 14, L. 16) (the same as Urjayat, see Urjayat):

Raivataka is also mentioned in the Adi Parva of the Mahabharata,[6] the Vividhatirthakalpa[7], the Brhat-

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1. J.A.S.B., 1838, p. 314
2. Vanaparva, Chs. 144, 156
3. Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 88: Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 83
4. Loc. cit., Dey, N.L., p. 82: J.A.S.B., 1848, p. 158
5. Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 88: The Kalikapurana (Vangabasi ed.) Ch. 14.31
6. Dey, N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 165: Pandey, R.B., Historical and Literary Inscriptions, p. 96, f.n. 5
7. विविधतीर्थकल्प, पृ. ७, Verse I.

samhita[1], the Dohad Stone Inscription of Mahamuda,[2] and the Jaunpur Inscription of Isanavarman[3]. Its modern name Girnar was a switch over to it from the city name Girinagara, i.e., 'a city on or at the foot of a hill.'[4] Raivataka derives its name from king Revataka, the father of Revati, (the wife of Baladeva, Krsna's elder brother)[5]. Revata is supposed to have come there from Dvaraka and lived on the hill. There is still a tank called Revati-kunda near Damodarakunda in the gorge of the hill.[6] The Gujarati Sanskrit poet Magha in the Sisupalavadha devotes the whole of Canto IV (verses 1-68) to the description of the Raivataka mountain. In Canto VI (verses 1-79) the poet describes the occurrence of six seasons one by one at the mountain Raivataka.

3. Sumeru (No. 17, L. 13, No. 32, L. 15):

In No. 17 the mountain Sumeru is described as one of the breasts of the earth (the other being Kailasa) and

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1. बृहत्संहिता, XIV, V. 19
2. E.I., XXIV, P.V. Jan. 1938, p. 216
3. C.I.I. III, p. 230, L. 7
4. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, pp. 50-51, Fleet, C. II. III, p. 57
5. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 55; Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p. 51
6. Loc. cit., Diskalkar, D.B., p. 55

the Gupta king Kumaragupta is mentioned as the lord of the earth. In No. 32 it has been named as Amarabhudhara. Its other names are Meru, Karnikacala, Ratnasanu, Svargiri, Svargigiri and Kancanagiri[1].

Sumeru is identified with Rudra Himalaya in Garhwal, where the river Ganga has its source, it is near Badarikasrama.[2] According to the Matsya Purana[3] the Sumeru Parvata is bounded on the north by Uttaraka-Kuru, on the south by Bharatavarsa, on the west by Ketumala and on the east by Bhadrasvavarsa.[4] It is also mentioned in the Padmapurana,[5] and the Kalikapurana.[6] According to the Kalikapurana Siva saw the summit of it. We also learn from this text that the Jambu river flows from this mountain.[7] We also find the mention of the Meru in the Sisupalavadha of Magha. It was on account of the eminence of Sumeru among the mountains that for praising kings they were described as 'Meru' among kings.[8]

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1. Abhidhanacintamani, p. 234, VS. 1031-32

2. Mahabharata, Santi Parva, chs. 335, 336: Dey N.L., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 196

3. Ch. 113

4. Loc. cit., Dey, N.L., pp. 196-97: Chaudhury, S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 87

5. Uttarakanda, VS. 35-38 6. Ch.13.23, Ch. 19.92

7. Ch. 17.10, Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 129

8. E.I., XV, p. 346, V. 19

4. <u>Urjayat</u> (No. 14, L. 16):

The poet here draws a picture: the lake Sudarsana looked like the sea[1] and the rivers Palasini, (Suvarnasikata) etc. had joined it as if the mountain Urjayat had stretched his hand with flowers (growing on the banks of the trees and thus falling in the rivers) for sending his daughters to their worthy husband.[2] Since the rivers emerged out from the mountain Raivataka, it may be called their father as described in verse 28, but to avoid repetition the poet uses in verse 29 a synonym of its name viz. the Urjayat and while making it the symbol of father represents the sea as the husband of the rivers.[3] Thus the mountains

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1. No. 14, L. 18:

Cf. Sircar, P.C., <u>Select Inscriptions</u>, ed. 1965, p. 176, Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I, L. 5:

पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां.....॥

2. No. 14, LL. 16-17, VS. 28-29

इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गताः, पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
समुद्रकान्ताः चिरबन्धनोषिताः, पुनः पतिं शास्त्रयथोचितं ययुः ॥ २८ ॥
अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोद्भवं, महोदधेरूर्जयता प्रियेप्सुना ।
अनेक-तीरान्तज-पुष्पशोभितो, ~~[illegible]~~...
नदीमयो हस्त इव प्रसारितः ॥ २९ ॥

3. Ibid., LL. 16-17, VS. 28-29

Urjayat and the Raivataka are one and the same. We also get support for our suggestion from the fact that whereas the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman describes the emergence of the rivers Palasini, Suvarnasikata etc. from the mountain Urjayat[1] in Inscription No. 14 the name of Raivataka is used in the same context.[2] Fleet[3] and Sircar[4] are wrong in describing Raivataka as a hill different from Urjayat or Girnar situated opposite to it. The Vividhatirthakalpa also uses the names Raivataka and the Ujjayant (Urjayat) as synonyms for Girinara which was sanctified by Srinemi and is situated in Surastra (South Kathiawad)[5]. In another inscription at Girnar (about 15th century) verses 5-8 refer to the mountain Girnar

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1. Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p. 176, LL. 5-6:
   गिरेरूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता पलाशिनी-प्रभृतीनां नदीनां ....।
2. Cf. No. 14, L. 16:
   इमाश्च या देवतकाद्विनर्गताः, पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
3. C.11.III, p. 64, f.n. 1
4. Select Inscriptions (ed. 1965), p.313, f.n. I
5. विविधतीर्थकल्प, पृ. 7 :
   नाभिः श्रीरैवतकोज्जयान्तादपेः प्रथा (या) मितम् ।
   श्रीनेमिपावितं स्तौमि गिरिनारं गिरीश्वरम् ॥ १ ॥
   स्थाने देशे सुराष्ट्रारव्यां बिभर्ति भुवनेष्वसौ ।
   यद्भूमिकामिनीभाले गिरिरेष विशेषकः ॥ २ ॥

by both the names Ujjayanta and Raivata[1]. The Abhidhanacintamani of Hemacandra also mentions Ujjayanta and Raivataka as synonyms.[2] The Kap copper-plate of Ketadi Sadasiva-Nayaka also refers to Ujjantagiri (Urjayat)[3] The mountain Urjayat is identified with Girnar hill near Junagadh.[4] The literal meaning of Urjayat is strong, powerful, eminent.[5]

5. Visnupada (No. 20, L. 6):

We know from the inscription that a lofty standard of the divine Visnu was set up on the hill called Visnupada.[6] Literally meaning 'the hill marked with footprints of Visnu', Visnupada hill is to be identified with that part of the Delhi Ridge on which the column stands.[7] This Visnupada hill is not far from

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1. Diskalkar, D.B., Inscriptions of Kathiawad, pp. 116 ff.
2. Abhidhanacintamani, V. 1031: उज्जयन्तो रैवतकः ।
3. Law, B.C., p. 300: E.I. XXIV, Pt. V, January, 1938
4. Law, B.C. Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 300: Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 325
5. M.W., p. 221, Col. 3
6. No. 20, L.6: प्रान्युर्ध्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः ।
7. Diskalkar, D.B., Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 24: Fleet, C.11.III, p. 140

the Kuruksetra and the Beas.[1]

1. Sircar, D.C.: Select Inscriptions (ed.1965), p.285 F.N.4, Cf. Mahabharata, III.73,8ff.: also 103 ff.

गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरूद्वह । ..... ततो
गच्छेत धर्मज्ञ विपाशे स्थानमुत्तमम् ।

etc.

Ibid. III. 138,8 :

यत्र विष्णुपदं नाम दृश्यते तीर्थमुत्तमम् ।
एषा नदी विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ॥

Ramayana, II.68, 18-19

ययुर्मध्येन बाह्लीकान् (बाल्हीकान्) सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।
विष्णोः पदं प्रेक्षमाणा विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् ॥

Section III

C O N C L U S I O N

Names of the Gupta Kings

Among the names of the Gupta kings 'Gupta' is an example of an abbreviated name. Ghatotkaca, Ghatotkacagupta, Purugupta and Vainyagupta are the epic names. Budhagupta is a naksatra-nama (name based on constellation). Bhanu-gupta is a named based on the Sun god.

Govindagupta, Narasimhagupta and Visnugupta are Vaisnavite names. Candragupta (I), Samudragupta, Candragupta (II), Kumaragupta (I), Skandagupta, Kumaragupta (II) and Kumaragupta (III) are Saivite names. The names of Skandagupta and Kumaragupta exhibit the popularity of the war-god Skanda or Karttikeya.[1]

The names Candragupta and Kumaragupta were repeated in the Gupta family which is against the Mahabhasya rule[2] that the first part of the name can be borrowed from one of the three male ancestors but the second part of the name should be different. It may be said that the repetition of the second part could not be avoided due to the tendency of the

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1. Cf. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of Gujarat, p. 107

2. I.H.Q., XIV, p. 242 (Mahabhasya, ed. by Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 4)

Guptas to add to their names the suffix 'Gupta' which had almost become their family name.

Names of the Gupta Queens

Among the names of the Gupta Queens Kumaradevi, Anantadevi, Candradevi, Srivatsadevi and Mitradevi were after gods. In Dattadevi, the name-ending suffix 'datta' forms the first part of the name. The name Dhruvadevi or Dhruvasvamini was based on Dhruva (polar star). This was against Smrti injunctions. Manu says that a brahmana should not marry a maiden who bears the name of a constellation, tree or river, of a low caste, of a mountain, of a bird, snake or slave, or of anything terrifying.[1]. The names of women derived from the names of the naksatras are forbidden by the Dharmasutras.[2]

Devi meaning goddess is the common suffix in all the names except Dhruvasvamini which ends in Svamini meaning 'mistress'.

It is interesting to note that Kamarupa king Pusyavarman's son Samudravarman was named after the Gupta king Samudragupta. Moreover, Samudravarman's queen took the same name as that of the queen of Samudragupta, i.e. Dattadevi.[3] Barua con-

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1. Manu-smrti, III.8-9

2. Varaha-Grhya-sutra, III, 1-3: I.H.Q., XIV, p. 233: Cf. Pargiter, F.E., Ancient Indian historical tradition, pp.134-6

3. Barua, K.L., Early history of Kamarupa, p. 41

siders Samudravarman to be the contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramaditya and the celebrated poet Kalidasa.[1]

We also take into account the other feminine names which are as follows:

i) Damasvamini
ii) Devaki
iii) Harisvamini
iv) Padmavati
v) Rami
vi) Sabhati
vii) Samadhya

In feminine names we notice the suffixes svamini and vati. We find that the feminine names in our inscriptions generally end in 'i'.

Now we classify the names according to the deities they represent. Some names were used by more than one person and somehow seem to have been popular. As they appear in more than one inscription and for different individuals we have listed them separately.

Saivite Names

1. Acyutabhadra
2. Sivakunda
3. Ratibhadra
4. Bhavanatha
5. Kumarabhava
6. Bhavaraksita
7. Rudrabhava
8. Nimasarmma

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1. Ibid., p. 43

9. Sarvvadasa
10. Aparasiva
11. Bhavadatta
12. Vasusiva
13. Guhavisnu
14. Jyesthadama
15. Kumaravisnu
16. Kumaradeva
17. Sarvvavisnu
18. Svamicandra
19. Somavisnu
20. Sivanandi
21. Bhava
21. Somapale
22. Boyilla
23. Stambhesvaradasa
25. Guha
26. Ganapati
27. Sankara
28. Ganapatinaga
29. Damarudra
30. Candravarmma
31. Isvaracandra
32. Rudradatta
32. Kumarabhuti
34. Rudradeva
35. Kumarayasas
36. Ugrasena
37. Mahasena
38. Acyutanandi
39. Sthanudatta
40. Bhima
41. Mahasenadatta
42. Bhimavarman
43. Sivasarmma
44. Ciratadatta
45. Abhayamitra
46. Sikharasvamin
47. Bhadra
48. Candragupta
49. Bhattibhava
50. Sarvvanaga
50. Bhattisoma
52. Candragupta I and II
53. Guhanandi
54. Samudragupta
55. Kusika
56. Rudrasoma
57. Kumaragupta I,II & III
58. Skandagupta
59. Somila
60. Udi(ta)caryya

61. Upamita
62. Kumaradevi
63. Sambapala
64. Anantadevi
65. Skandapala
66. Candradevi
67. Prabhucandra
68. Suraamicandra
69. Rudradasa
70. Sasimandi
71. Sthanunandi

Vaisnavite Names

1. Jayadatta
2. Hari-Sresthin
3. Krsnadatta
4. Sridatta
5. Harideva
6. Srideva
7. Bhima
8. Krsnamitra
9. Krsnadasa
10. Srinatha
11. Gopadatta
12. Harisarmma
13. Haridasa
14. Jayasvamin
15. Visnudatta
16. Guhavisnu
17. Dhrtivisnu
18. Jayavisnu
19. Narisimha
20. Kirttivisnu
21. Gopala
22. Kumaravisnu
23. Sribhadra
24. Sarvvavisnu
25. Visnubhadra
26. Somavisnu
27. ... visnu
28. Yasovisnu
29. Gopasvamin
30. Harisena
31. Sribhadra
32. Acyutanandi
33. Acyuta
34. Dhanyavisnu
35. Gopala
36. Narivisnu
37. Guha
38. Indravisnu
39. Hari
40. Matrvisnu

41. Nabhaka
42. Varunavisnu
43. Visva
44. Visnudasa
45. Nandadama
46. Visnugopa
47. Sribhadra
48. Goparaja
49. Visvavarmma
50. Kurama(a)ravyabhatta
51. Visnupalitabhatta
52. Acyuta
53. Gopadevasvamin
54. Madhava
55. Jayabhattisvami
56. Harisena
57. Devavisnu
58. Gopasvamin
59. Haritrata
60. Harisena
61. Devaki
62. Cakrapalita
63. Harisvamini
64. Jayadatta
65. Padmavati
66. Acyudadasa
67. Govindagupta
68. Visnugupta
69. Anantadevi
70. Srivatsadevi
71. Narasimhagupta

Names based on Skanda or Karttikeya

1. Kumarabhava
2. Guhavisnu
3. Kumaravisnu
4. Kumaravisnu
5. Kumarabhuti
6. Kumarayasas
7. Mahasena
8. Mahasenadatta
9. Guhanandi

10. Skandapala

11. Kumaradeva

12.-14. Kumaragupta (I), (II) and (III)

15. Skandagupta

Names based on Ganapati

1. Ganapati

2. Ganapatinaga

Names based on Moon

1. Himasarmma

2. Somavisnu

3. Somila

In order to determine the prevalence of Saivite names we may keep out of our consideration, names which are not directly based on Siva but are based on auxiliary deities. Other names based on god Moon are Bhattisoma, Isvaracandra, Prabhucandra, Sasinandi, Svamicandra, Somapala, Candravarmma, Candragupta (I) and (II), queen Candradevi and Surasmi-candra.

Names based on Lord Krsna

1. Krsnadatta

2. Harideva

3. Krsnamitra

4. Harisarmma

5. Gopala

6. Hari

7. Nandadama

8. Gopadevasvamin
9. Maritrata
10. Krsna
11. Devaki
12. Harisvamini
13. Hari-sresthin
14. Krsnadasa
15. Gopadatta
16. Haridasa
17. Harisimha
18. Gopala
19. Gopasvamin
20. Harisena
21. Harivisnu
22. Visnugopa
23. Goparaja
24. Harisena
25. Gopasvamin
26. Harisena
27. Govindagupta

Though Krsna is an incarnation of Visnu[1], for determining the currency of names based on Visnu directly, we will not count names based on Krsna.

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1. M.W., p. 877, col. 2

Lord Ram is believed to be the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. Rama occurring in our inscriptions seems to have been Rama Raghava. The names based on Rama are given below:

Names based on Rama

1. Laksmanasarmma
2. Ramasvamin
3. Raghava
4. Rami
5. Laksmana
6. Ramadasa
7. Rama
8. Ramaka
9. Ramasarmma

Other minor deities of the period which emerge out from an analysis of the proper names are as follows:

Names based on Naga

1. Nagadeva
2. Rajyanaga
3. Viranaga
4. Sarppapalita
5. Ahisarmma
6. Nagasarmma
7. Bhatanandin
8. Nagadatta
9. Amrakarddava
10. Nagasena

11. Anantadevi

Names based on Indra

1. Puramdara
2. Jayanandi
3. Mahendragiri
4. Devaraja
5. Indravisnu

Names based on Sun

1. Bhaskara
2. Adityabandhu
3. Divakaranandin
4. Arkkadasa
5. Ravila
6. Prabhakara
7. Devabhattaraka
8. Bhanugupta
9. Mitradevi

The only name based on Goddess Durga is 'Durgadatta'.

The two names based on Matri cult (seven Matrkas) are as follows:

1. Matrdasa
2. Matrvisnu

There is only one name based on god Varuna (Sea-god), which is Varunavisnu.

The names based on Nara form of God are Narayanadasa, Naradeva, and Nara-Nandin.

We find that both the Saivite and Vaisnavite names are equal in number. If we delete the names of allied deities we get 51 names (Saivite) and 44 Vaisnavite names. Thus Saivite names seemto be more popular. An indication of the leaning of the Gupta kings towards Vaisnavism is clear from the Garuda emblem of the Guptas[1]. The Gupta monarchs also used the title 'Paramabhagavata' i.e. the devout devotee of Visnu in their imperial records. Majority of the names of Gupta show a preference for Saivism. We know from the Mathura Pillar Inscription of the year 61 (No. 42) about the Lakulisa sect of the Pasupatas which was very popular at Mathura. Kusika one of the four main disciples of its founder Lakulisa who is regarded as the last incarnation of Siva finds mention in this record. Parasara, Upamita, Kapila and Udita were the Pasupata teachers, who flourished in the Gupta period. We know of the prevalence of the worship of goddess Durga and Siva's two sons, Karttikeya and Ganesa. We find two names based on Yama (god of death), Vijayanandin and Kala. There are likewise two names based on Cupid (god of love) which are Matibhadra and Maravisa. The popularity of Naga worship in the Gupta period known from other sources is confirmed by an analysis of the names. Other categories of names are Buddhist and Join names which

1. No. 1, L. 24

are as follows:

1. Abhayamitra
2. Guhanandi
3. Gosarmma
4. Jitasena
5. Dat(tt)itacarya
6. Parsva
7. Buddhamitra
8. Bhattibhava
9. Bhattisoma
10. Bhadra
11. Madra
12. Rudrasoma
13. Samkara
14. Santideva
15. Sanasiddha
16. Somila
17. Buddha
18. Samghiladeva
19. Samghila

A large number of names discussed by us reveal an inclination towards Saivism. Buhler had already proved from the data of the Sanci Stupa Inscriptions that the worship of Visnu and Siva is older than Buddhism and Jainism. It can be guessed that the donors mentioned in the records or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their

conversion and that they received their names in accordance with the established customs of their families.[1].

We also find some epic and pauranic names which show the popularity of the Epics and the Puranas. The names are given below:

1. Ghatotkaca
2. Ghatotkacagupta
3. Purugupta
4. Vainyagupta
5. Partha
6. Prthu
7. Vyasa
8. Yudhisthira
9. Bhima
10. Dhananjaya
11. Sagara
12. Parasara

Another considerable group of proper names is derived from the names of Naksatras. This shows that the rule in the Grhyasutras recommending the use of Naksatra names, was obeyed. These names are as follows:

1. Pusyamitra
2. Dhruvasarman
3. Dhuruvadevi, Dhruvasvamini (This name is certainly against the rule of the Dharmasastras, since it

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is a feminine name. The Dharmasutras forbid the names of Nakṣatras to be given to a woman).

4. Budhagupta

Madra and Khasaka are the two names which may be termed as tribal names, presumably pointing to the tribes to which they belonged.

Names based on colour are (1) Kalaka, (2) Kapila, (3) Pingala and (4) Nilaraja.

The names based on animals are Simhad(da)tta, Simhanandi, Ganda, Sarabharaja, Vyaghraraja, Hastivarmma, Chagalaga and Mandaka.

The names based on abstract qualities are: (1) Bhadradeva Kamanakunda, Rupasarmma, Susarmma, Bandhumitra, Amrtadeva Samadhya, Nibhupala, Dhrtimitra, Matidatta, Ksemadatta, Balavarmma, Dhruvabhuti, Matila, and Virasena. We can also classify the names into two categories Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit or Prakrit names. A few of the second group may be enumerated here:

1. Piccakunda
2. Prabhamitra
3. Kankuti
4. Bonda
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6. Karppatika
7. Risidatta

8. Nami

9. Dudika

10. Lidhaka

The names of brahmanas occurring in our inscriptions sometimes end in a non-brahmanic cognomen such as Bhatta, Datta and Kunda, etc., which are available in the inscriptions of Bengal. Surnames like Datta, Dama, Palita, Pala, Kunda (Kundu), Basa, Naga and Nandi are now confined to Kayasthas of Bengal but not to Brahmanas. Bhandarkar[1] has pointed out that identical surnames are used by the Nagara-Brahmanas.

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1. Majumdar, R.C., The Vakataka-Gupta Age, ed. 1967, p. 345
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CONCLUSION

We have seen from the Place-names discussed earlier that they were named either after some hero, just as Gaya from Gayasura, Nepala from the name of "Ne" rsi, or after deities just as Pistapura, named after Pistapurika goddess. Other examples are Indrapura named after god Indra, Devarastra named after some unspecified god. Some places were named after number, just as Kotivarsa, Pancakulvyavapaka, Pancanagari. The other category of place-names includes names derived either from some natural surrounding just as Trivrta, having (good) surroundings on the three sides; Vatodaka, surrounded by water; Krmila, full of krmis or insects; Tumbavana, abounding in Tumba plants; or from the name of a tree just as Vatagohali, Pulasavrndaka, Lavangasika (the clove tree); Nrandapalla, named after Nrand plant. In some cases the names point out the geographical situation, just as Adyapatha, Uttaramandala, Daksinapatha, Daksinamsaka-vithi, Vindhyatavi, Gosatapunjaka, Airikina, Samgohalika-grama, Surastra, Kanci, Denga-grama, Samatata.

The place-names were named after Tribes just as Pundravardhana named after the Pundras, Vanga after the Vangas, Aryyavarta after the Aryyas, Kakanadbota after the Kakas, Pulanagiratta and Nagirattamandala after the Nagas. Some place-names seem to have been based on proper names, e.g. Midu-vilala-ksetra, Jolari-ksetra, Mahipala-ksetra, Pakkavilala-ksetra.

The second part of the geographical names is a place-name suffix which usually denotes the size or the nature of the place. The examples are the suffixes pura, palli, rastra, rajya,

Pradesa, Desa, Nagara, Varsa, Visaya, bhukti, mandala, nauyoga, patha, ksetra, gohali, puskarini, vithi, pottaka, pataka, parsvika. We have found some place-names which may be categorised as the abbreviated place-names. Either the suffix has been submerged in the name due to the prakritisation or it has been dropped. The examples are Davaka, Kurala, Avamukta, Nepala, Palakka, Vengi, Krmila, etc.

A STUDY IN THE VOCABULARY
OF
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

By

Tej Ram Sharma

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY, CULTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

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1967

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COLLEGE OF INDOLOGY
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Section III

C O N C L U S I O N

Names of the Gupta Kings

Among the names of the Gupta kings 'Gupta' is an example of an abbreviated name. Ghatotkaca, Ghatotkacagupta, Purugupta and Vainyagupta are the epic names. Budhagupta is a naksatra-nama (name based on constellation). Bhanu-gupta is a named based on the Sun god.

Govindagupta, Narasimhagupta and Visnugupta are Vaisnavite names. Candragupta (I), Samudragupta, Candragupta (II), Kumaragupta (I), Skandagupta, Kumaragupta (II) and Kumaragupta (III) are Saivite names. The names of Skandagupta and Kumaragupta exhibit the popularity of the war-god Skanda or Karttikeya.[1]

The names Candragupta and Kumaragupta were repeated in the Gupta family which is against the Mahabhasya rule[2] that the first part of the name can be borrowed from one of the three male ancestors but the second part of the name should be different. It may be said that the repetition of the second part could not be avoided due to the tendency of the

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1. Cf. Sankalia, H.D., Studies in the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of Gujarat, p. 107

2. I.H.Q., XIV, p. 242 (Mahabhasya, ed. by Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 4)

Guptas to add to their names the suffix 'Gupta' which had almost become their family name.

Names of the Gupta Queens

Among the names of the Gupta Queens Kumaradevi, Anantadevi, Candradevi, Srivatsadevi and Mitradevi were after gods. In Dattadevi, the name-ending suffix 'datta' forms the first part of the name. The name Dhruvadevi or Dhruvasvamini was based on Dhruva (polar star). This was against Smrti injunctions. Manu says that a brahmana should not marry a maiden who bears the name of a constellation, tree or river, of a low caste, of a mountain, of a bird, snake or slave, or of anything terrifying.[1]. The names of women derived from the names of the naksatras are forbidden by the Dharmasutras.[2]

Devi meaning goddess is the common suffix in all the names except Dhruvasvamini which ends in Svamini meaning 'mistress'.

It is interesting to note that Kamarupa king Pusyavarman's son Samudravarman was named after the Gupta king Samudragupta. Moreover, Samudravarman's queen took the same name as that of the queen of Samudragupta, i.e. Dattadevi.[3] Barua con-

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1. Manu-smrti, III.8-9

2. Varaha-Grhya-sutra, III, 1-3: I.H.Q., XIV, p. 233: Cf. Pargiter, F.E., Ancient Indian historical tradition, pp.134-6

3. Barua, K.L., Early history of Kamarupa, p. 41

siders Samudravarman to be the contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramaditya and the celebrated poet Kalidasa.[1]

We also take into account the other feminine names which are as follows:

i) Damasvamini
ii) Devaki
iii) Harisvamini
iv) Padmavati
v) Rami
vi) Sabhati
vii) Samadhya

In feminine names we notice the suffixes svamini and vati. We find that the feminine names in our inscriptions generally end in 'i'.

Now we classify the names according to the deities they represent. Some names were used by more than one person and somehow seem to have been popular. As they appear in more than one inscription and for different individuals we have listed them separately.

Saivite Names

1. Acyutabhadra
2. Sivakunda
3. Ratibhadra
4. Bhavanatha
5. Kumarabhava
6. Bhavaraksita
7. Rudrabhava
8. Nimasarmma

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1. Ibid., p. 43

9. Sarvvadasa
10. Aparasiva
11. Bhavadatta
12. Vasusiva
13. Guhavisnu
14. Jyesthadama
15. Kumaravisnu
16. Kumaradeva
17. Sarvvavisnu
18. Svamicandra
19. Somavisnu
20. Sivanandi
21. Bhava
21. Somapale
22. Boyilla
23. Stambhesvaradasa
25. Guha
26. Ganapati
27. Sankara
28. Ganapatinaga
29. Damarudra
30. Candravarmma
31. Isvaracandra
32. Rudradatta
32. Kumarabhuti
34. Rudradeva
35. Kumarayasas
36. Ugrasena
37. Mahasena
38. Acyutanandi
39. Sthanudatta
40. Bhima
41. Mahasenadatta
42. Bhimavarman
43. Sivasarmma
44. Ciratadatta
45. Abhayamitra
46. Sikharasvamin
47. Bhadra
48. Candragupta
49. Bhattibhava
50. Sarvvanaga
50. Bhattisoma
52. Candragupta I and II
53. Guhanandi
54. Samudragupta
55. Kusika
56. Rudrasoma
57. Kumaragupta I,II & III
58. Skandagupta
59. Somila
60. Udi(ta)caryya

61. Upamita
62. Kumaradevi
63. Sambapala
64. Anantadevi
65. Skandapala
66. Candradevi
67. Prabhucandra
68. Suraamicandra
69. Rudradasa
70. Sasimandi
71. Sthanunandi

Vaisnavite Names

1. Jayadatta
2. Hari-Sresthin
3. Krsnadatta
4. Sridatta
5. Harideva
6. Srideva
7. Bhima
8. Krsnamitra
9. Krsnadasa
10. Srinatha
11. Gopadatta
12. Harisarmma
13. Haridasa
14. Jayasvamin
15. Visnudatta
16. Guhavisnu
17. Dhrtivisnu
18. Jayavisnu
19. Narisimha
20. Kirttivisnu
21. Gopala
22. Kumaravisnu
23. Sribhadra
24. Sarvvavisnu
25. Visnubhadra
26. Somavisnu
27. ... visnu
28. Yasovisnu
29. Gopasvamin
30. Harisena
31. Sribhadra
32. Acyutanandi
33. Acyuta
34. Dhanyavisnu
35. Gopala
36. Narivisnu
37. Guha
38. Indravisnu
39. Hari
40. Matrvisnu

41. Nabhaka
42. Varunavisnu
43. Visva
44. Visnudasa
45. Nandadama
46. Visnugopa
47. Sribhadra
48. Goparaja
49. Visvavarmma
50. Kurama(a)ravyabhatta
51. Visnupalitabhatta
52. Acyuta
53. Gopadevasvamin
54. Madhava
55. Jayabhattisvami
56. Harisena
57. Devavisnu
58. Gopasvamin
59. Haritrata
60. Harisena
61. Devaki
62. Cakrapalita
63. Harisvamini
64. Jayadatta
65. Padmavati
66. Acyudadasa
67. Govindagupta
68. Visnugupta
69. Anantadevi
70. Srivatsadevi
71. Narasimhagupta

Names based on Skanda or Karttikeya

1. Kumarabhava
2. Guhavisnu
3. Kumaravisnu
4. Kumaravisnu
5. Kumarabhuti
6. Kumarayasas
7. Mahasena
8. Mahasenadatta
9. Guhanandi

10. Skandapala

11. Kumaradeva

12.-14. Kumaragupta (I), (II) and (III)

15. Skandagupta

Names based on Ganapati

1. Ganapati

2. Ganapatinaga

Names based on Moon

1. Himasarmma

2. Somavisnu

3. Somila

In order to determine the prevalence of Saivite names we may keep out of our consideration, names which are not directly based on Siva but are based on auxiliary deities. Other names based on god Moon are Bhattisoma, Isvaracandra, Prabhucandra, Sasinandi, Svamicandra, Somapala, Candravarmma, Candragupta (I) and (II), queen Candradevi and Surasmi-candra.

Names based on Lord Krsna

1. Krsnadatta

2. Harideva

3. Krsnamitra

4. Harisarmma

5. Gopala

6. Hari

7. Nandadama

8. Gopadevasvamin
9. Maritrata
10. Krsna
11. Devaki
12. Harisvamini
13. Hari-sresthin
14. Krsnadasa
15. Gopadatta
16. Haridasa
17. Harisimha
18. Gopala
19. Gopasvamin
20. Harisena
21. Harivisnu
22. Visnugopa
23. Goparaja
24. Harisena
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26. Harisena
27. Govindagupta

Though Krsna is an incarnation of Visnu[1], for determining the currency of names based on Visnu directly, we will not count names based on Krsna.

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1. M.W., p. 877, col. 2

Lord Ram is believed to be the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. Rama occurring in our inscriptions seems to have been Rama Raghava. The names based on Rama are given below:

Names based on Rama

1. Laksmanasarmma
2. Ramasvamin
3. Raghava
4. Rami
5. Laksmana
6. Ramadasa
7. Rama
8. Ramaka
9. Ramasarmma

Other minor deities of the period which emerge out from an analysis of the proper names are as follows:

Names based on Naga

1. Nagadeva
2. Rajyanaga
3. Viranaga
4. Sarppapalita
5. Ahisarmma
6. Nagasarmma
7. Bhatanandin
8. Nagadatta
9. Amrakarddava
10. Nagasena

11. Anantadevi

Names based on Indra

1. Puramdara
2. Jayanandi
3. Mahendragiri
4. Devaraja
5. Indravisnu

Names based on Sun

1. Bhaskara
2. Adityabandhu
3. Divakaranandin
4. Arkkadasa
5. Ravila
6. Prabhakara
7. Devabhattaraka
8. Bhanugupta
9. Mitradevi

The only name based on Goddess Durga is 'Durgadatta'.

The two names based on Matri cult (seven Matrkas) are as follows:

1. Matrdasa
2. Matrvisnu

There is only one name based on god Varuna (Sea-god), which is Varunavisnu.

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We find that both the Saivite and Vaisnavite names are equal in number. If we delete the names of allied deities we get 51 names (Saivite) and 44 Vaisnavite names. Thus Saivite names seemto be more popular. An indication of the leaning of the Gupta kings towards Vaisnavism is clear from the Garuda emblem of the Guptas[1]. The Gupta monarchs also used the title 'Paramabhagavata' i.e. the devout devotee of Visnu in their imperial records. Majority of the names of Gupta show a preference for Saivism. We know from the Mathura Pillar Inscription of the year 61 (No. 42) about the Lakulisa sect of the Pasupatas which was very popular at Mathura. Kusika one of the four main disciples of its founder Lakulisa who is regarded as the last incarnation of Siva finds mention in this record. Parasara, Upamita, Kapila and Udita were the Pasupata teachers, who flourished in the Gupta period. We know of the prevalence of the worship of goddess Durga and Siva's two sons, Karttikeya and Ganesa. We find two names based on Yama (god of death), Vijayanandin and Kala. There are likewise two names based on Cupid (god of love) which are Matibhadra and Maravisa. The popularity of Naga worship in the Gupta period known from other sources is confirmed by an analysis of the names. Other categories of names are Buddhist and Join names which

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The place-names were named after Tribes just as Pundravardhana named after the Pundras, Vanga after the Vangas, Aryyavarta after the Aryyas, Kakanadbota after the Kakas, Pulanagiratta and Nagirattamandala after the Nagas. Some place-names seem to have been based on proper names, e.g. Midu-vilala-ksetra, Jolari-ksetra, Mahipala-ksetra, Pakkavilala-ksetra.

The second part of the geographical names is a place-name suffix which usually denotes the size or the nature of the place. The examples are the suffixes pura, palli, rastra, rajya,

Pradesa, Desa, Nagara, Varsa, Visaya, bhukti, mandala, nauyoga, patha, ksetra, gohali, puskarini, vithi, pottaka, pataka, parsvika. We have found some place-names which may be categorised as the abbreviated place-names. Either the suffix has been submerged in the name due to the prakritisation or it has been dropped. The examples are Davaka, Kurala, Avamukta, Nepala, Palakka, Vengi, Krmila, etc.